

Archaeology of the Ross Female Factory: Female Incarceration in Van Diemen's Land, Australia



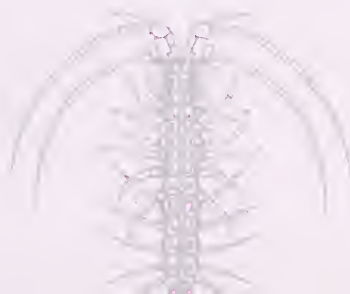
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and the Tasmanian Wool Centre of Ross**

Dr Eleanor Conlin Casella

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Ross Female Factory, 1848

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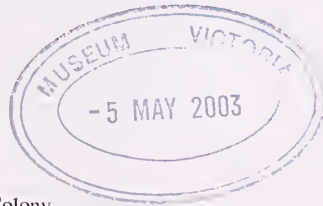
Ross Female Factory

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Figure 1. The Dance of the Happy Trowels. Ross Factory, February 1997.

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ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE ROSS FEMALE FACTORY:

Female Incarceration in Van Diemen's Land, Australia

Chapter 1: Introduction

[W]alls, enclosures and facades serve to define both a *scene* (where something takes place) and an *obscene* area to which everything that cannot or may not happen on the scene is relegated: whatever is inadmissible, be it malefic or forbidden, thus has its own hidden space on the near or the far side of a frontier. (Lefebvre 1991, p. 36)

The Ross Factory Archaeology Project entered the forbidden and malefic frontier of a mid-19th century Tasmanian female convict prison. Forming the basis of my doctoral research through the Department of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, the Ross Project was developed to examine material expressions of gender and class identity formation, and to map an institutional landscape of contested social power. This volume presents results of the field and laboratory work conducted on the Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site over the duration of this research project.

Project Background

Between 1803 and 1854, Britain transported 74 000 felons to the Van Diemen's Land penal colony for punishment and reform (Eldershaw 1968, p. 130). Approximately 12 000 of these convicts were women. After receiving criminal convictions for felonies committed within Great Britain, prisoners were transported by ship to Van Diemen's Land (renamed Tasmania in 1855), an island colony separated from the Australian mainland by the treacherous Bass Straits. The Ross Female Factory was one of a networked system of female convict institutions established throughout the island for incarceration of the female exiles (Figure 1). Named 'Factory' as an abbreviation of the title 'manufactory', these colonial prisons were conceptually designed after the British Houses of Industry, institutions that provided the bulk of public social welfare throughout Great Britain and Ireland (Driver 1993). As is detailed within Chapters 3 and 4 of this volume, the main quadrangle of the Ross institution was constructed for accommodation of male convicts in 1842 during the Probation System period of convict administration. By 1847 the site underwent substantial modifications in preparation for the incarceration of convict women. The Female Factory operated on this site from 1848 through early 1855, when Britain ceased convict transportation to the Van Diemen's Land colony. The site was then transferred to civilian management, and experienced a series of municipal and domestic occupations. It was gazetted as an historic reserve in 1980, and is now

administered through the Cultural Heritage Branch of the Department of Primary Industries, Water and Environment (DPIWE), Tasmania, Australia.

My interest in the Ross Factory site began in October 1992. My initial doctoral research topics broadly focused on the dynamics of gender identity construction and material expressions of social power. I wanted to situate my dissertation research within the comparative international focus then emerging in the field of Historical Archaeology. During October 1992, the Cultural Heritage Branch was finalizing the first stage of public interpretations for the Ross Factory site. Martin Davies, historical archaeologist for the Parks and Wildlife Service, enthusiastically described the nature of the archaeological resources preserved at the Ross Factory, and encouraged me to consider the site for my dissertation research. The Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site enabled me to archaeologically explore material expressions of gender identity, and cultural landscapes of domination and resistance, through a unique and internationally significant form of British colonial expansion.

Initiated in October 1995, the Ross Factory Archaeology Project (RFAP) consisted of four weeks of preliminary site surveys, two excavation seasons and fourteen months of laboratory analysis of recovered artefactual materials. The Ross Project focused excavation on those areas of the site originally inhabited by the incarcerated women. By opening trenches within the Crime Class Dormitory, the Hiring Class Dormitory, and the Solitary Confinement Cells (Figures 1 & 7), the Ross Project provided a comparative sample of cultural remains associated with the three types of incarceration experienced by the female inmates of Ross Factory. Seventy-eight volunteers participated as field excavators, laboratory assistants, and survey crew through the Ross Factory Archaeology Project. Over the two seasons, these crews opened a total of 104 square metres of the Female Factory. In June 1997, volunteer archaeologists excavated a further 1 metre square trench immediately south of the site boundary to examine the nature of the local soil profile. Preliminary results of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project were presented in the journal *Australasian Historical Archaeology* (Casella 1997a). Chapter 4 presents the detailed stratigraphic results of these excavations.

Field crews revealed architectural remains of sandstone and brick foundations from Factory structures within both the Main Compound and Solitary Cells. We recorded original muster yard flooring and a sandstone drain system in both the Hiring Class and Crime Class regions of the site. Extensive artefactual deposits related to all periods of site occupation were recovered. Data

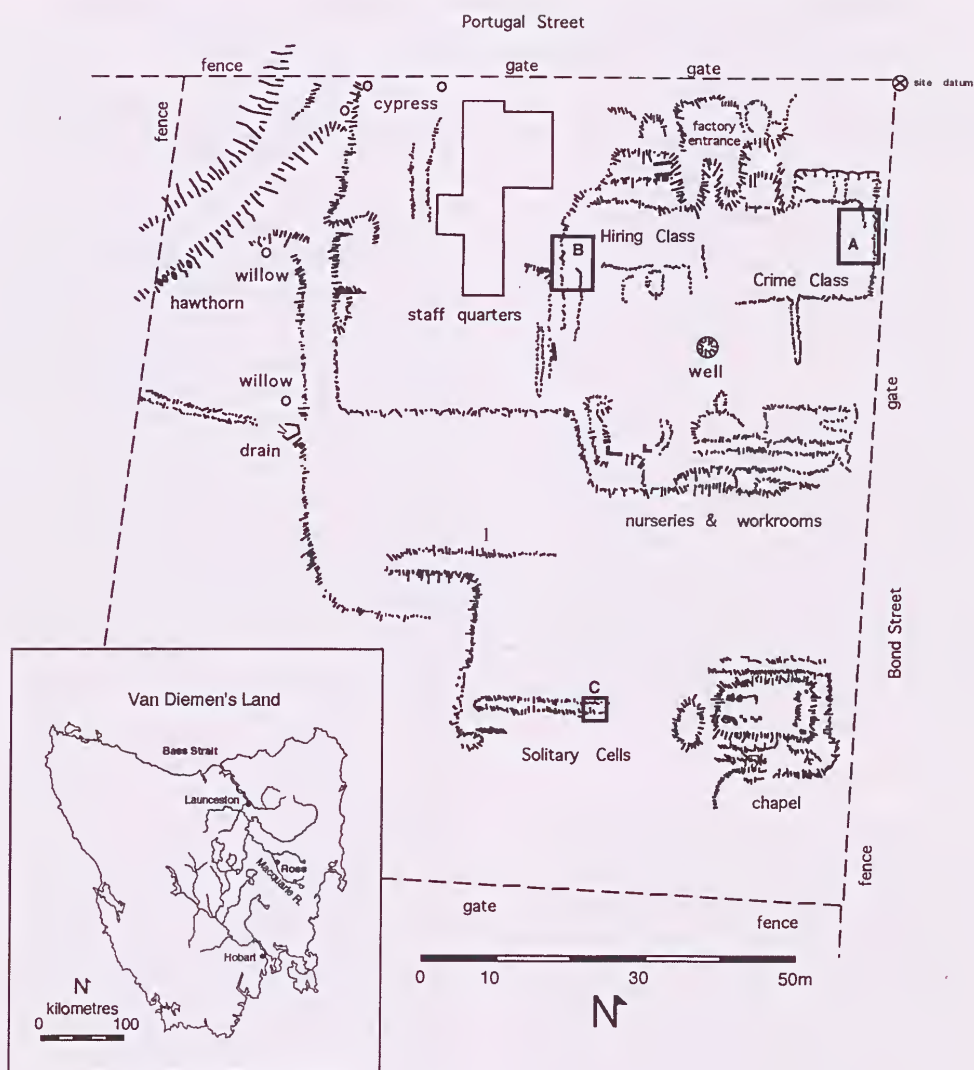


Figure 1. Ross Factory site plan and map of Van Diemen's Land.

recovered through our field work included digital topographic survey data, a photogrammetric recording of the original Staff Quarters and digitized plot of the east elevation, 84 bags of soil samples, scaled drawings of all features and stratigraphic soil profiles, and 23 crates of artefactual materials. Chapter 5 characterizes the finds recovered from Female Factory related deposits at the Ross site.

During the fourteen months of subsequent laboratory research, I directed the curation and primary identification of all 19th century artefacts from the Ross site. As described in Chapter 5 of this volume,

laboratory crews catalogued cultural materials by fabric, and assigned each artefact a unique numerical code for future management of the Ross Collection. Only the assemblages related to the convict periods of site occupation underwent further stages of detailed identification and distribution analysis (Casella 2001b). Following completion of laboratory research the Ross Collection was lodged with the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery in Launceston, Australia for permanent curation and management. With generous assistance from the Cultural Heritage Branch of the Department of Primary Industries, Water & Environment (DPIWE), the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, and the

Tasmanian Wool Centre of Ross, I developed and installed an interpretive exhibit on the Ross Factory Archaeology Project within the Local History Rooms of the Tasmanian Wool Centre. This permanent exhibit displays excavation photographs, artefacts and ecofacts recovered during the 1997 season of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, explains the systematic methods of archaeological excavation, and encourages visitors to question the nature of everyday life experienced by inmates of the Ross Female Factory. With assistance from the Interpretations Branch of the Tasmanian Parks and Wildlife Service, I also integrated results from both excavation seasons of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project into a multi-media Internet website:

<http://www.parks.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/WebPages/CDAT-53CUF2?open>

Designed to introduce archaeological approaches to convict history, we hope this resource will continue to enhance public interest in both the State historic reserve and Tasmanian women's heritage.

Permits and Scope of Report

Since the Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site is an historic reserve protected by the Central North District of the Tasmanian Parks and Wildlife Service, and locally managed by the Tasmanian Wool Centre of Ross, it is subject to several Acts of the State Parliament. Permits to excavate at the Ross site were granted under the *National Parks & Wildlife Act 1970* and the *Aboriginal Relics Act 1975* (**Appendices 1 & 2**). The preliminary research season occurred from 5 November 1995 to 8 January 1996. This first season of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project (RFAP) consisted of four stages of data collection: Topographic Survey, Electro-Resistivity Survey, Metal Detector Survey, and Archaeological Excavation. Results of the preliminary season were presented and discussed in an unpublished Interim Report filed with the Cultural Heritage Branch of DPIWE (then a branch of the Department of Environment and Land Management) (Casella 1996a).

In accordance with these excavation permits, this Final Report presents current research results from the Ross Factory Archaeology Project. Chapter 2 contains a discussion of the background research themes that structured the Ross project. The major geomorphological characteristics of the Ross Factory site are then summarized to provide a background on the local physical landscape. Chapter 3 contains a brief history of convict administration in Van Diemen's Land, followed by an introduction to recent developments in Australian female convict studies. Because the Ross Factory existed within a loose network of female convict prisons, a background history of the other Australian female factories is also provided to highlight the origins and evolution of reformatory schemes and disciplinary regimes that structured daily life within the Ross Factory. Chapter 4 presents the research questions

specifically developed for excavation of the Ross Factory site, the methodologies employed during non-invasive survey and excavation stages of the Ross Project, and a detailed stratigraphic interpretation of recovered field data. Chapter 5 documents the three stages of laboratory work conducted on the Ross artefactual collection. Summaries of a functional analysis of materials recovered from Factory-related deposits is also included within this section. Finally, some possible future directions and research questions are considered in the concluding section of this report.

For presentation purposes, cultural heritage within this report is identified as either 'Aboriginal' or 'European'. These labels are intended to describe the manufacture origins of particular types of artefacts. Throughout this report, the word 'European' is intended to refer to the material culture (artefacts, structures or landscapes) created by both Europeans and European descendants in Australia (non-Aboriginal Anglo-Australians). In describing the manufacture origins of artefacts, I recognize the continued presence of Aboriginal people within 19th and 20th century Tasmania. I also recognize that Aboriginal communities made use of European artefacts after 1803. However, because of the specific history of the Ross Factory site, the Ross Township, and the Northern Midlands Region, European and Anglo-Australian artefacts found within historic contexts were most likely introduced, utilized and deposited by non-indigenous occupants of the site.

Chapter 2:

Background: Theoretical Questions and the Natural Landscape

Studies of a heritage site minimally require three forms of knowledge. Researchers must understand the physical place involved, the cultural modifications that shaped the place, and the particular research questions that guided their study of that place. While the complex histories of convict administration and female factory sites constitute Chapter 3 of this report, this section presents the theoretical background that structured this research project, and characterizes the dominant geomorphological attributes of the Ross Factory site.

Research Themes: The Incarceration of Women

On the nature of power

Debates on the engendered nature of power have always been central to the social sciences (deBeauvoir 1953; Etienne & Leacock 1980; Howe 1994). Drawing from work by theorists such as Karl Marx (1970), Michel Foucault (1977a, 1981), Anthony Giddens (1984) and Pierre Bordieu (1977), feminist scholars have developed an appreciation of the interwoven dynamics of race, class and gender identities that both constitute and are constituted by relationships of power (Rosaldo & Lamphere 1974; Hooks 1990; Hartsock 1990; diLeonardo 1991; Stoler 1995). Such research has increasingly theorized 'power' as a complex of reciprocal social relationships (Strathern 1988). These recent anthropological models balance situational and contextual dynamics of repressive power against similarly fluid dynamics of insubordination and resistance. Archaeological research at the Ross Female Factory Historic Site explored the nature of power relationships from historical and anthropological perspectives. How is the material world, or the surrounding artefacts, architecture and cultural landscape, used to create, legitimate and challenge power relationships within penal institutions? How do women and men differentially access and experience power? How has penal incarceration been strategically used to transform, maintain, challenge and legitimate power relationships between different classes, genders or ethnic groups (Daniels 1993; Damousi 1997a; Oxley 1996; Kerr 1984)? What are the ethics of incarceration as a method of 'reforming' undesirable members of society (Finch 1993)? What role does the material world play in communicating relationships of feminine and masculine identity (Gero & Conkey 1991; Gilchrist 1994; Wright 1996)?

Engendered penal institutions

Since the 1780s, cultural landscapes of the western world have been dominated by the development and consolidation of institutions. These places of social control have evolved various familiar forms such as

schools, hospitals, asylums, corporate headquarters, factories, administrative centers, museums, and prisons (Foucault 1977a; Goffman 1961; Markus 1993). Although these places dominate the 20th century landscape, they are of relatively recent social construction. Conceptualized by British Utilitarian philosophers of the early Industrial Revolution (Ignatieff 1978, pp. 57–79), institutional design experienced sublime expression in the development of 'The Penitentiary' (Semple 1993). Through the architectural and social world of this new penal institution, incarceration transformed from a retributive to reformatory exercise (Foucault 1977a; Evans 1982). By the mid-19th century, British penitentiaries contained a growing and vocal minority of elite-class political prisoners predominantly incarcerated for their involvement in the Irish nationalist movement (Ignatieff 1978). These educated gentlemen worked with philanthropic groups, such as the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, to publish underground narratives of their penal experiences. These pamphlets and broadsheets strongly questioned the ethics of incarceration as a form of British social control (Wiener 1990), sparking new recognition of the role of the penal incarceration as a tool of imperial power (Jebb 1985).

Gender issues were also central to the development of modern prisons. Bureaucratic attempts to administer female convicts immediately created concern with the gendered nature of discipline and reform (Freedman 1981; Friedman 1993, pp. 233–4). Female prisoners communicated disobedience and resisted institutionalization in very different ways than male prisoners; 19th century conceptions of masculine and feminine identities necessitated very different treatment of male and female inmates (Howe 1994, Dobash et al. 1986, Zedner 1991). Reform of penal institutions often began with the reorganization of incarceration for female convicts, including modifications to architectural forms of solitary confinement (Kerr 1984), and establishment of 'half-way' houses such as Fulham Refuge in England and Golden Bridge Reformatory in Dublin (Dobash et al. 1986, p. 75). Central to the English penal reform movement was concern with the ethics of juvenile and female incarceration. During the early 1820s, Elizabeth Fry established the Ladies' Society for the Reformation of Female Prisoners, a women's philanthropic organization devoted to inspection of living and 'moral' conditions within female prisons (Fry 1827; Dobash et al. 1986, p. 44; Zedner 1991, p. 118). A decade later, continuing correspondence with Fry inspired Lady Jane Franklin, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, to establish a Ladies' Committee for improvement of women's prisons within the Australian penal colony (Parrott 1996; Alexander 1987; Brown 1972; Mackaness 1977). In London, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the emerging anti-transportation movement drew on Franklin's experiences within the Australian convict prisons to challenge the

ethics of both convict transportation and female incarceration (Jebb 1985). Using archaeological sources of data, the Ross Factory Archaeology Project explored everyday life within one of these Australian 19th century female prisons to expand our understanding of the social world behind this ethical debate.

Towards a role for archaeology

Much of the earliest work in Australian historical archaeology was conducted on convict-related sites in New South Wales and Tasmania. Within the Sydney region of New South Wales, the discovery of in situ archaeological remains of Australia's colonial First Government House led to one of Australia's most significant urban excavation projects (Proudfoot et al. 1991). Located at the intersection of Phillip and Bridge streets in the heart of Sydney's central business district, the site held remains of the first structure built for colonial administration of the Australian colonies (Mulvaney 1985; Proudfoot 1983; Bickford 1983; McBride 1989). Occupied from 1789–1845, the complex included the original two-storey, eight-room Georgian mansion built for Governor Phillip (founder of the initial settlement in Sydney Cove), later architectural additions, and outbuildings designed for domestic work and accommodation of convict labourers (Connah 1988, pp. 27–30). After a portion of the site was approved for urban development, academic archaeologists, concerned members of the public and heritage professionals conducted a famous intervention campaign to save the archaeological resources of this unique site. From 1983–91, excavations directed by Anne Bickford and Associates exposed footings of Governor Phillip's house, a bread oven, two drains and a privy (Connah 1988, p. 28; Proudfoot et al. 1991). This project was significant to the field of convict archaeology because research questions on the nature of early colonial life focused not only on the experiences of colonial administrators, but also the male and female convict workers who ensured the daily maintenance of this elite household.

Edward Higginbotham's excavations of convict huts at Parramatta similarly concentrated on remains of the convicts who lived and worked away from the elite environment of Sydney Cove (Higginbotham 1987). Archaeological analysis demonstrated that the majority of transported male convicts inhabited single-storey, two-room wattle and daub structures. Measuring 7.3 x 3.7 metres in dimension, these huts were designed to accommodate up to fourteen men.

More recently, a large-scale program of heritage work was completed by the consultant firm Godden/Mackay/Logan in conjunction with the Sydney Cove Authority. The Cumberland/Gloucester Street Archaeological Investigation project examined the history, architecture and archaeology of The Rocks region of Sydney, the earliest working-class

neighbourhood of Australia (Godden Mackay 1996a, 1996b; Kelley 1997). Conducted from 1994 through 1996, this project generated significant new perspectives on the evolution of this urban precinct during Australia's Convict Era. Recent publications by Grace Karskens have interwoven social history and archaeology to illuminate the nature and quality of life experienced by the convicts who created and inhabited this urban colonial neighbourhood (Karskens 1997, 1999).

Juxtaposing the domestic nature of these convict sites, the institutional Hyde Park Barracks site similarly underwent a large program of interdisciplinary research during the 1980s. Originally constructed in 1819 for the accommodation of 600 male convicts, the edifice housed a number of administrative and legal offices until designated as a heritage site in 1979 (Collins 1994; Thorp 1994). The New South Wales Department of Planning funded a large interdisciplinary research and recovery program during the early 1980s (Thorp 1980, 1990; Wilson 1985). While a variety of occupation periods were included in the resulting public presentation of the site, an intentional and explicitly central focus was on the daily institutional experiences of male convicts in early colonial Sydney—where they slept, what they ate, what they wore, what they did for amusement, and how they negotiated their conditions (Thorp 1994; Historic Houses Trust 1990; Starr & Bogle 1998).

As will be presented in Chapter 3 of this volume, the majority of male convicts laboured under government service, building the public infrastructure necessary for the expanding Australian colonies. Challenging the traditional historical image of the worthless urban criminal, the typical male convict possessed specialized vocational skills, and many became highly valued craftsmen within the penal colonies. Others chose to use their valued skills to negotiate for better working conditions. These dynamics have been demonstrated through archaeological studies of the convict-built environment (Higginbotham 1983), particularly Grace Karskens' work on the Great North Road (Karskens 1984; Thorp 1988). This impressive early 19th century convict roadwork traversed steep and rugged sandstone terrain north of Sydney's Harbour to connect the colonial town with developing agrarian settlements in the Hunter Valley. In her 1986 journal article, Grace Karskens examined the shape, distribution and quality of retaining walls constructed by male convict road gangs along the Great North Road to form interpretations of the working patterns and living conditions among the infamous early 19th century convict road gangs. Through this material study, Karskens emphasized the negotiated nature of life and labour within a convict road gang:

It was a world revolving around systems of threats and incentives, restrictions and opportunities, and these diverse but closely connected rules moulded the behaviour and relationships of convicts,

emancipists and free men alike. It was a world where distance and isolation could easily overshadow authority and where official policy often gave way to expediency. It was a world where the government found itself flogging one man it had banished to an isolated outpost, while simultaneously ignoring the wrongdoings of another, on whom it depended, at the same outpost. (Karskens 1986, p. 27)

In Tasmania, archaeological work on convict sites was initiated by the Port Arthur Conservation and Development Project. Between 1979 and 1986, this Commonwealth Government initiative produced interdisciplinary research and conservation works on Port Arthur Historic Site, the centre of Van Diemen's Land convict administration and management from the 1830s through the 1850s (Casella 1997b; Young 1996; Davies & Buckley 1987; Jack 1984). With the exception of a large works project undertaken at the associated 'Coal Mines' site, including excavation and stabilization of the underground solitary cells used to incarcerate particularly recalcitrant male convicts, the majority of published archaeological work completed during the PACDP focused on the administrative areas of the penal complex (McGowan 1985a; Davies & Egloff 1986) or presented crucial first-stage results of artefactual analysis projects (Dane & Morrison 1979; McGowan 1985a).

Recent work by Greg Jackman at the Point Puer settlement has offered significant new directions for understanding the material lives of the convict inhabitants of Port Arthur. Established in 1833 on a narrow headland separated from the main penal settlement by Carnarvon Bay, Point Puer was designed to accommodate boys under the age of 16 who had been transported as convicts to the penal colony. Greg Jackman's survey, excavation and heritage conservation works have focussed on the Chapel/Schoolhouse region of the penal complex (Jackman 2001). As a result, Jackman has been able to offer fresh archaeological perspectives on the nature of labour, discipline and education that structured daily life for the juvenile convicts of Port Arthur.

Similarly, Angela McGowan's 1978–81 excavations at Risdon Cove, site of the abandoned original settlement of Van Diemen's Land colony, focused on the structural remains of houses under construction for the two commanding officers of the settlement (McGowan 1985b). The tents and makeshift huts occupied by the accompanying male and female convicts would have left ephemeral physical remains, thereby obscuring their archaeological presence. Better results were collected from the recovered artefactual assemblages, although laboratory research was only funded through initial stages of identification and curation (McGowan 1985b).

More recent archaeological work on Tasmanian convict sites has focused on the identification and conservation

of Probation Stations, those sites related to a specific policy of dispersing male convict labour throughout the island colony during the 1840s (see Chapter 3 for a full discussion). While a number of small-scale salvage excavations have been conducted over the years, of particular note were a linked series of archaeological and historical surveys of Tasmanian probation stations explicitly undertaken to improve the contextual assessment of convict sites in Tasmania (Parham & Noble 1994; Evans 1996).

As has been recognized by these classic Australian studies, a purely documentary-based history is inherently biased; it is necessarily filtered through the perceptions, desires, and opinions of the writer (Deetz 1977; Noel Hume 1982; Connah 1988; Jack 1985). All documents can be considered artefacts themselves, with their content 'excavated' for contextual meanings: who is writing, and to what audience (Karskens 1999, Wolf 1982; Beaudry 1988; Little 1992)? The partial nature of the written record is exacerbated in the case of a prison, where access to communication and self-expression becomes a privileged luxury. Since archaeology analyzes the material remains of a site, a more diverse image of institutionalized domination and inmate resistance could begin to be constructed through integration of documentary and artefactual data (Barber 1994). My doctoral research examined material residues of covert or insubordinate activities (such as alcohol bottle glass, coins, or smoking implements) to illuminate the nature of women's resistance (Casella 1999a, 2001c). Questions explored through the Ross Factory Archaeology Project included: How were women negotiating the prison regulations? What illicit materials were smuggled inside the convict establishments? Where and how were those objects deposited?

Spatial patterns of gender differentiation have been observed in other institutional contexts, including medieval religious institutions (Gilchrist 1994), 17th century Spanish missions in Alta California (Kryder-Reid 1996), 18th century Russian colonial military establishments (Lightfoot & Martinez 1998), and 19th century Australian convict institutions (Byrne 1993; Damousi 1997a). How did convicts and staff use the architecture, fence lines, and pathways of the Ross Female Factory to create, support, and challenge power relations within the institution? Archaeological studies of architecture have frequently emphasized the artefactual nature of the built environment (Leone 1984; Deetz 1977; Tringham 1991; Spencer-Wood 1994). Most of these studies have examined architecture as more than just a passive backdrop to social interaction. They argue for an active role of architecture; the built environment shapes and enables certain behaviours, while preventing and discouraging others. Utilizing data collected during the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, Chapter 6 of my doctoral dissertation explored the role of architectural manipulations in the construction of disciplinary penal landscapes (Casella 1999a, 2001c). Background research

questions included: Did the Superintendents respond to insubordination through increased elaboration of boundaries? How were architectural features used to communicate hierarchical status within the prison? What methods of containment were employed, and how did inmates circumvent them?

Recent historical examinations of the Australian female factories have explored differences between individual acts of insubordination and collective patterns of resistance by female convicts (Damousi 1997a, 1997b; Daniels 1998a). How did the factories interconnect, forming a system across the colonial landscape? The Ross Factory Archaeology Project asked if patterns of site use (or abuse) were apparent in the archaeological record of the Ross Factory. Could those patterns be linked to events at other female factories? Ultimately, could a pattern of collective, intentional, and sustained resistance be interpreted through documentary and archaeological evidence of life within the Ross Female Factory?

Significance of the Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site

As discussed in the Parks & Wildlife Service Conservation Plan, the Ross Factory site derives its primary significance as the best surviving example of a female convict station in Australia (Terry 1998, pp. 53–8). Although most standing structures related to the Factory were demolished by the end of the 19th century, subsurface architectural and archaeological remains of the factory have been outstandingly preserved, and minimally disturbed. Thus, the Ross Factory is the only remaining site in Australia to contain archaeological remains directly related to the everyday lives of female convicts.

The Ross Factory Archaeology Project focused excavation on those areas of the site inhabited by the convict women. As will be discussed in the following chapter of this volume, penal authorities categorized Female Factory convicts into ‘classes’ for the purpose of institutional management. These prisons utilized a combination of architectural boundaries and disciplinary regulations to segregate inmate classes into separate wards. Promotion or demotion of a convict through the penal classes was accompanied by physical movement through regions of the prison site. Because of the outstanding degree of archaeological preservation existing at the Ross Factory site, convict-related deposits were retained in situ from all three wards of the institution; this unique preservation condition imparted a particular archaeological significance to the site. By opening trenches within the Crime Class Dormitory, the Hiring Class Dormitory, and the Solitary Confinement Cells, the Ross Project was able to compare cultural remains associated with all three stages of incarceration experienced by convicts within the Tasmanian female factory system.

The Natural Landscape

As noted previously, different forms of knowledge are required for studies of heritage places. In addition to explicit discussion of the theoretical perspectives utilized, significant aspects of the physical site must be presented to properly locate and understand the role of the natural landscape in the formation of the heritage place. This volume will now characterize the climate, geomorphology, soil profile and river systems that constitute the local environment of the Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site.

Groundwater and soil type

Situated in the Northern Midlands region (**Figure 1**), the Ross Township occupies one of the driest microclimates of Tasmania, experiencing a mean annual rainfall of approximately 600 millimetres (Scanlon 1990a, p. 44). Soil types of this region tend to be chemically complex. Around Ross, the local soil is classified as a combination of lateritic podzolic soils, brown earth/prairie soil and alluvial soils (Wilson 1990, pp. 28–30). These soil types are generally acid to neutral in the upper strata, and alkaline below.

Created by tectonic activity during the late Cretaceous Period (70 MYA), the ‘Midlands Graben’ forms the large Northern Midlands/Tamar River valley and watershed (Scanlon 1990b, p. 140). Beginning just south of Tunbridge at the northern base of the Black Tiers, the Midlands Graben is sharply bounded to the west by the steep incline of the Great Western Tiers, and gradually demarked to the east by a series of ranges, including Faddens Tier, Burburys Tier, Big Blue and Badajos Tiers, Fingal Tier, Ben Lomond, and Mount Barrow.

Lateritic podzolic soils are highly common throughout this Midlands Graben geological region. These soils occupy old erosion surfaces and remnant high river terraces. Because of their fertility, they supported much of the early colonial occupation of the Midlands when they were cleared of indigenous vegetation and used for rough grazing and/or cultivation of cereal crops. As these soils are chemically unable to support long-term agricultural cultivation, this area is currently used as pasturage for extensive sheep grazing.

Brown earth/prairie soils develop in valley regions, atop basalt and dolerite bedrock. They tend to be stony, shallow, and infrequently cultivated. Typically, these regions also support sheep grazing.

Alluvial soils occupy flood plains and young river terraces, and are frequently found along eastern Tasmanian water courses. As flood deposits, they tend to consist of finer silts and clays. Supporting a variety of agricultural activities, they are used for both crop cultivation and pastoralist grazing of sheep, cows, and deer. Since these soils frequently flood during increases

in groundwater levels and/or precipitation, these natural landscapes tend to be heavily modified through introduction of dams, drains, artificial terraces or canals.

The Macquarie River

The Macquarie River forms the dominant geomorphological feature of the Ross township (**Figure 1**). Part of the Midland Graben/Tamar River drainage system, the Macquarie runs from Lake Toombs (near St Peter's Pass in the Black Tier) northwards into the South Esk River. The Macquarie is a 'meandering river', flowing through unconsolidated alluvium, and confined within the Midlands Graben. As is typical with slow-moving water courses, Tasmanian rivers tend to deposit soil sediments along the inside of their meanders (Walsh 1990, pp. 59–60). As the channel position of the river changes, a series of ridges form on the flood plain. Established in 1821, the Ross township was situated atop the highest of these local ridges, overlooking Argyle Plains and Beaumont Downs.

The presence and movement of the Macquarie River shaped both the establishment of the town, and the general pattern of European settlement of this region. This landscape relationship has been most visually commemorated in the famous Ross Bridge, a decoratively carved sandstone structure designed and built by convicts in the early 1830s to provide the first river crossing for the 19th century Midland Road (DMRT 1988). Although a majority of the township lies on a particularly high alluvial ridge, protected from annual flood levels, the Ross Female Factory Historic Site is located on the lower, southern side of this terrace. During normal weather conditions, the Factory site is located approximately 400 metres east of the Macquarie River, and 4 metres above its average water level. Consequently, the convict site experiences relatively frequent flooding and alluvial sediment deposit.

The Ross alluvial ridge roughly maintains an east-west orientation; prevailing wind tends to sweep northwards up the Midlands Valley. Thus, the township of Ross was founded on the more environmentally protected northern side of this high alluvial terrace, while the Female Convict site was situated peripheral to the town, on the topographically exposed southern side of this prominent ridge system.

The Ross Factory site

Located halfway up the southern side of this alluvial terrace, the Ross Female Factory Historic Site demonstrated a complex local geomorphology. The general region maintained a local bedrock of colluvial sandstone. However, at the topographic elevation of the main Factory compound, basal material appeared to be an alluvial clay, with extensive water movement developing pedes throughout this layer. Upper layers of dirt were a mixture of eroded colluvial deposits washed

downhill, and alluvial silts deposited during seasonal floods of the Macquarie River. Although proper analysis of soils was outside the scope of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, a 1 square metre trench was dug in Area D (**Figure 7**) to determine the nature of the soil profile outside the boundaries of the Historic Site. Full discussion of data from this trench follows in Chapter 4 of this report.

In summary, while the physical geography of the Northern Midlands Region has developed from a complex interaction of soil types, the dominant presence of the Macquarie River has created a relatively simple alluvial geomorphology for the immediate locale of the Ross Female Factory site. The physical landscape features created by the Macquarie River have played a central and active role in the formation of the Ross cultural landscape.

Chapter 3: The Historical Landscape

During the eighty year period of Australia's convict era, fierce international debates on the nature of criminal reform raged between the authorities of the Van Diemen's Land penal colony, and the social philosophers, elite philanthropists, and Parliamentarians of Great Britain. These evolving debates helped fabricate the specific architectural and social landscape of the Ross Female Factory institution. This chapter first summarizes the fluctuations of convict administration systems within Van Diemen's Land. It then changes scale to examine the management of Australian female convicts, and the specific architectural and archaeological histories of the various Australian female factories. This chapter concludes with a detailed presentation of historical data on the major occupation periods represented at the Ross Factory historic site.

The Administration of Convicts in Van Diemen's Land

No unified system of convict administration was ever developed in the Australian colonies. Not only did the methods, philosophies, policies and goals change with each new colonial administration, but the entire enterprise continually adjusted to economic, political and social changes within Britain. Further, Colonial officials frequently found the goals of transportation, punishment and rehabilitation of convicts, and deterrence of crime within Britain, to be incompatible. Over the eighty years of convict transportation to the Australian colonies, significantly different management systems were forged, and many of the experimental reformatory schemes fabricated by elite British penal philosophers were first tested (Ignatieff 1978; Kerr 1984; Byrme 1993). Originally administered through New South Wales, by 1825 Van Diemen's Land gained full responsibility for the management of its convict arrivals, and rapidly developed unique systems for harnessing the productive and reproductive labour of the transportees.

Convict administrators were especially troubled by the management of female transportation. It is crucial to note that the vast majority of transported British convicts were male. As a result, the punishment and rehabilitation schemes designed for female convicts developed from those fabricated for males. However, enough significant differences in management regimes existed to warrant a separate discussion within this section of the volume. Thus, a brief general administrative history of convict management (predominantly organized for the management of *male* convicts) must first be outlined to contextualize the establishment and transformations of the Ross Female Factory.

'a most beautiful and romantic country': Founding the Colony

In the earliest period of the Van Diemen's Land colony, convicts provided the basic human resources for establishment of a permanent settlement. The colony was used as a place of secondary punishment for transportees who had committed further offences in New South Wales. Arriving in ever increasing numbers, male convicts were put to 'government labour', building roads and bridges, cutting sandstone, brickmaking, timbering, sawing, constructing public buildings, farming, fishing, improving harbours and building boats. Skilled convicts provided most specialized labour, and many of the earliest architects, shipwrights, stonemasons, gardeners, clerks and engineers completed their work under sentence (Nicholas & Shergold 1988).

Administrative requirements were minimal during this period of early settlement. Most male convicts worked in labour gangs during the day, and were locked into rudimentary barracks at night, with minimal segregation by behaviour, crime, or length of sentence. Recalcitrance was punished by periods of heavy labour in chains and extension of penal sentences. Serious offences, such as absconding, rape, resistance to superiors, or possession of forbidden substances typically led to execution at the scaffold.

'cruel, uncertain and prodigal?' Bigge's Commission and the Assignment System

By 1819 Van Diemen's Land experienced a significant increase in the numbers of convicts arriving on transport ships. Over 1 400 more arrived the following year, with the result that 73% of the colonial population laboured under sentence (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 45). For the next five years, approximately 1 000 new arrivals annually joined this massive convict population (Shaw 1966, p. 366; Clark 1950, p. 408).

Given these overwhelming numbers, unsystematic management of the convicts was no longer feasible. British Commissioner John Thomas Bigge led a Parliamentary inquiry into the Australian colonies from 1819 to 1822. His tasks were to determine ways of increasing colonial economic self-sufficiency, 'ways of making transportation more of a deterrent to potential British offenders, and ways of better separating the convicts from the free settlers . . .' (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 43).

As a member of elite British circles, Bigge expressed a blatant sympathy for the colonial gentry and landed free settlers. His design of the Assignment System for management of convicts responded to their need for cheap labour. Previously, convict men had been financially supported by the imperially-subsidized colonial government; employed at public works, convicts were housed in Government Barracks, and provisioned from the Government Store. Bigge suggested a 'privatization' of convict labour, ultimately saving British Parliament the expense of maintaining

their convict exiles and workers. The majority of convicts were assigned to labour for landed free settlers, town merchants, and 'emancipists', or those transportees who had completed their sentences and received either full or conditional pardons. Those settlers deemed morally worthy enough to merit convict workers paid for the free labour by provisioning, clothing and accommodating the convicts according to a legally prescribed scale. Discipline continued to be strictly regulated by the colonial government:

Those [convicts] not directly under their master's supervision had to be supervised by an approved overseer. Annual reports on the conduct of each assigned servant had to be submitted by the master to the Principal Superintendent, through the local police magistrate. Servants were permitted to marry, indeed they were encouraged to do so, subject to the prior approval of the Lieutenant-Governor. If they committed an offence, they were tried and punished by the local magistrate. Their health was under the care of the assistant surgeon of their district, provided that the master paid five shillings every six months for each convict, though this was an optional scheme. (Brand 1990, pp. 5–6)

The Assignment System encouraged convict reformation and exemplary behaviour through the promise of regaining the rights to waged labour and ownership of private property:

Convicts who conducted themselves well, or performed some meritorious task . . . could be granted a ticket of leave. The ticket permitted the holder to work for any employer for wages or to hold a government post, including service in the field police, and to own property. The only restrictions on ticket-holders were that they had to attend religious services every Sunday, provided that they lived within two miles of a church, and they were obliged to report to the monthly district and annual general musters. A ticket of leave was not a right, but was granted at the Lt. Governor's pleasure. It could be withdrawn or suspended for bad conduct, and the holder was thereupon returned to assigned service. The tickets were highly regarded, both by convicts and their employers, the latter considering that they were proof of good conduct. As a result, ticket-holders were often paid higher wages than free persons. (Brand 1990, p. 6)

Distressed by the recurring commercial depressions and environmental problems plaguing Australia between 1812 and 1820, Bigge introduced wool production as a principal source of colonial export funds (Auchmuty 1974, p. 63). He and colonial elites believed the bucolic influences of pastoral employment would also inspire reformation in the assigned convicts:

Bigge discovered . . . that the punishment and reform of convicts might be achieved by their use as a form of slave labour force up-country, where

they would be able to do the work of shepherds . . . Under the alien southern stars, the British convict would be enabled to reflect upon his past wicked ways, gain a sense of proportion as he tended his master's sheep and surely come to an understanding of God's infinite mercy. Thus buoyed up and ever conscious that, thanks to his sylvan monarch, he had not swung at Tyburn Tree, the convict would be enabled to make a fresh start in Australia. Such a picture pleased many; they could see the ex-convict humbly working for his master in the backblocks of . . . Van Diemen's Land, supporting a wool industry and being spiritually changed at the same time, marrying, and occupying a humble but spotless cottage on the sylvan banks of the Derwent . . . surrounded by his dutiful wife and cheerful children till he should go to his final resting place, a humble but happy man. (Robson 1983, p. 141)

In order to increase the severity of transportation, render the sentence more terrifying to potential criminals in Britain, and effectively separate the most hardened felons from the growing 'settled districts', Bigge suggested the establishment of secondary punishment stations. These austere encampments were to be located within isolated regions of Van Diemen's Land, and convict occupants, 'men of the most degraded and incorrigible character' (Clarke 1970, p. 58) were to suffer extreme deprivations, solitude and heavy labour until their resistant spirits were broken.

With the passage of the *Transportation Act of 1824*, British Parliament gave legal sanction to Bigge's reforms (Brand 1990, p. 5). Two stark penal settlements were established for secondary punishment: Darlinghurst, on windswept Maria Island off the east coast (1825–32) and Sarah Island, an infamous penal island buried at the base of remote Macquarie Harbour, midway up the inaccessible and unsettled west coast of the colony (1822–33). The convicts of Van Diemen's Land toiled under this management system until the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur (1824–36) again changed the face of Australian convictism.

'an abode of misery': The Administration of Sir George Arthur

Although decentralization of convict management through the Assignment System saved colonial government funds, it also rendered the severity of convict servitude increasingly arbitrary:

That the system placed the convict absolutely in the hands of the master for good and evil was obvious and many assigned convicts were exploited or harshly treated, while equally there were many who were indulged by their masters. It was this uncertainty in the degree of punishment, leading to doubts as to its reformatory capabilities—and the suggestion of "slave labour"—that bothered its opponents. On one

hand this meant unacceptably cruel exploitation, while on the other hand the stories of convict successes which were filtering back to Britain threatened to destroy any deterrent value that transportation was supposed to have. (Brand 1990, p. 6)

This uncertainty of experience was frequently exploited by convicts to improve their situations. If a convict was found idle, unsupervised or drunk, or was sent to the local magistrate for quarrelling with the master, he would be removed from that assignment, returned to hard labour for a temporary period, and eventually re-assigned to a new employer (Brand 1990, p. 6). Since the quality of servitude was determined by the luck of assignment, convicts exchanged information on good and bad masters, manoeuvred towards the former and avoided serving the latter (Nicholas & Shergold 1988; Oxley 1996).

Lieutenant-Governor Sir George Arthur, a strict Calvinist Evangelical and career colonial administrator with a strict military background, followed the utilitarian philosophies of Jeremy Bentham on methods of inducing reform:

Arthur meant to close all the loopholes in the system of convict punishment and turn the island into an ideal police state where surveillance was constant and total: a Panopticon-without-walls. Moreover, his new system of punishment and incentive would have the inexorable character of a machine, of Bentham's idea of "a mill grinding rogues honest." . . . The convict's fate was determined entirely by himself—by his own obedience and tractability, or lack of them. All the officials of the Convict Department had to do was tend the machine and stoke it with paper. As long as it was running, the disposal of the convicts and the severity of their punishment became automatic. (Hughes 1987, p. 383)

Arthur recognized that the re-formation of individuals into malleable and gender-less 'docile bodies' (Foucault 1977a; 1977b) required a mutation of their minds and spirits, rather than mere performances of obedience or compliance:

[Arthur] thought crime was a kind of sickness. Criminals suffered a "mental delirium", caused by seeing reality through a "false medium", a scrim of illusions and distortions. The solution was to train them by drill and rote . . . backed by the total exclusion of choice from their daily lives. Hard labour and, above all, the boredom of repetition was the only way to get convicts into the passive frame of mind where reformatory teaching could pierce and dispel their "delirium". (Hughes 1987, p. 383).

Such transformations necessarily required a uniform and certain system of reward and punishment—a codified system of carrots and sticks to ensure the convicts

willingly transformed through self-discipline. Towards this goal, Arthur bureaucratically managed all aspects of both free and convict colonial life, and divided convict sympathies to better conquer their spirits:

He divided Van Diemen's Land into nine police districts, each with a police magistrate in charge of a force of constables and field police. Each police magistrate reported back to the chief police magistrate in Hobart, who in turn reported to Arthur. In his own district . . . the police magistrate was boss, judge, coroner and recording angel. He kept minute registers of births, behaviour, proper transactions and deaths of the free and bond in his district. He issued travel passes to convicts. All applications from settlers for assigned servants and all petitions from convicts for "indulgence", remissions and tickets-of-leave had to go through him. And he controlled the local police force, which ran from the chief district constable down to the rank and file of the field police, who were recruited from among the serving convicts. To get into the field police was considered a fine indulgence, and Arthur knew perfectly well what effect these government turncoats would have on the morale of convicts: "a mistrust and jealousy had already been infused into the prisoner Population which gives a Security to the free inhabitants." (Hughes 1987, pp. 383–4)

Arthur separated convicts into seven classes based on the meticulously documented reports of their behaviour. Between the extremes of freedom and the scaffold there was:

[1] holding a ticket-of-leave; [2] assignment to a settler; [3] labour on public works; [4] labour on the roads, near civilization, in the settled districts; [5] work in a chain gang; [6] banishment to an isolated penal settlement; and [7] penal settlement labour in chains. (Hughes 1987, p. 385)

This classification system was the first systematic division of convicts by behavioural merit, rather than economic status or severity of crime, and Arthur's scheme was to continue in basic form through later colonial administrations.

With the burgeoning expenses of his extensive bureaucratic system, Arthur could no longer afford to maintain the remote 'prisons of the damned' at Maria and Sarah Islands (Robson 1983, p. 151). These settlements were closed, and secondary punishment was focused at the new penal establishment of Port Arthur. Situated on the Tasman Peninsula, this location was close enough to maintain surveillance and cost-efficiency, yet remote enough to maintain security. Any threat to Hobart Town and the settled districts was minimized. A network of signal stations used semaphore flags to communicate rapidly. In less than half an hour, authorities in Hobart could be notified of any irregularities (Brand 1978; Weidenhofer 1981).

Furthermore, the Penal Peninsula was secured across Eaglehawk Neck by a series of sentry posts illuminated by lamps at night. A line of eighteen ferocious dogs warned the permanently stationed armed guards against any threat from absconders (Weidenhofer 1981, pp. 11–13; Brand 1978, pp. 7, 48, 59).

Arthur's power to approve assignment of convict labour proved to be a powerful social tool in the developing colony. Arthur believed that no emancipists (or convicts who had served out their sentences and gained freedom) should be granted assigned labour. They would either treat their convicts too leniently, holding excessive sympathy for their plight, or too harshly, sadistically reflecting on their own miserable experiences. Thus, Arthur consciously nurtured and encouraged the emergence of distinct socio-economic classes within Van Diemen's Land, a hierarchical system relatively rigid by Australian colonial standards:

... Arthur tried to enforce the ideal of Bigge and the Exclusives—that of a permanent ruling class of free descent, with the descendants of convicts as their helots. Refusing labour to Emancipists in Van Diemen's Land could only deepen the gulf between wealthy (or at least "unstained") Exclusive families there, and the convict-descended majority. (Hughes 1987, p. 389)

The early and intentional encouraging of class divisions within Van Diemen's Land set it apart from the other Australian colonies. Participants in the colonial elite's social world self-consciously and rigidly mimicked British standards of gentility and cultured domesticity (Alexander 1987, pp. 81–94; Kociumbas 1992, pp. 238–69; Windschuttle 1980; Grimshaw 1980).

The introduction of bureaucratic procedures and hierarchical controls rankled free settlers, who had become accustomed to unregulated free labour under earlier colonial administrations. The desire for some democratic rights caused much fighting within the colonial elites (Forsyth 1970, pp. 195–203). As a steady number of free colonists immigrated, Arthur granted increasing amounts of arable land in the east and north of Van Diemen's Land, and dispersed convict labour throughout the growing settled districts (Morgan 1992, p. 19). During Arthur's administration colonial demographics shifted. Of the approximately 30 000 white inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land, the portion under sentence dropped below 50%, although later increases in the rate of transportation counteracted this trend (Forsyth 1970, p. 50). The temporarily higher ratio of free to convict inhabitants fuelled popular demands for some form of representative government, especially among the 'rural gentry whose wealth was derived from wool, and the merchant class allied with them' (Robson 1983, p. 387). Arthur quickly developed political enemies (Forsyth 1970, pp. 125–7):

[Arthur] knew the population of free persons had increased greatly, but very shrewdly guessed that

the danger to the administration of the penal colony would emerge not from principle and slogans about liberty, but from finance. In March 1835 he warned the Colonial Office of the really hostile feeling that would arise if the inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land came to believe that the revenue of the colony was to be expended on maintenance and discipline of convicts with a view believed by the settlers to be more to British interests than colonial ones. An elective franchise ... and the abolition of transportation were two of the principal subjects of discussion in 1835 ... the restless trades people of Hobart Town being the principal audience at public meetings. People had grudges against Arthur and people with a substantial stake in the colony were the most vociferous. (Robson 1983, pp. 310–11)

Although Arthur was recalled in January 1836, his twelve year administration created the basic physical, social, economic and political framework for both the management of convicts and the structure of colonial society:

Van Diemen's Land was Arthur and Arthur was Van Diemen's Land—and if that were not so, it was not for want of [his] energy and skill. (Robson 1983, p. 160)

The Molesworth Report

Even with Arthur's extensive reforms, British Parliament and the Colonial Office grew disenchanted with the Assignment System for management of Australian convicts. As sustained socio-economic upheavals of the Industrial Revolution continued to boost crime rates within Britain, penal philosophers and Parliamentarians began to question the role of transportation as a method of crime prevention. Between 10 April 1837 and 3 August 1838, Parliament convened a select committee for inquiry into the Transportation system. The fifteen-member committee heard testimony from twenty-three witnesses, and published their findings and recommendations—the voluminous Report of the Molesworth Committee—in two parts. The committee chair, twenty-six year old Sir William Molesworth, 'was a "Philosophic Radical", a follower of Bentham and Hobbes (whose collected works he would turn to editing in 1839), and a staunch 'Abolitionist' (Hughes 1987, p. 494). Under his supervision, most of the witnesses were similarly biased against transportation. Unsurprisingly, the findings of the committee harshly judged the convict system and strongly recommended changes in the management of convict reformation:

The main characteristics of transportation, the committee acerbically put it, were "inefficiency in deterring from crime, and remarkable efficiency ... in still further corrupting those who undergo the punishment". Efficiency for evil and futility for good "are inherent in the system", which could never be improved. (Hughes 1987, p. 495)

The Molesworth Committee also issued a stinging critique of the moral character of the Australian colonies, their rebuke forcing a dramatic identity crisis for the colonial elites of Van Diemen's Land:

To them, the report was a stunning parental rejection. They had posited their social self-esteem on a rigid class barrier between themselves and the convicts. Even the Currency (first-generation Anglo-Australians) had done this, burying their convict origins within a generation or two. Now, the report claimed that crime was increasing faster than population and referred to a "progressive demoralisation both of the bond and free inhabitants"; clearly, in English eyes, there was little to choose between them. . . . The report had placed colonists in exactly the double bind that defines a colonial mentality. Many of them wanted to be more English than the English; they needed the approval of the implacable parent. Instead, Molesworth gave them pages of condescending Whiggery-and-priggery about their ineradicable stain. (Hughes 1987, pp. 496–7)

The effective result of the Molesworth Report was the cessation of transportation to New South Wales in 1840. Van Diemen's Land became the sole receiver of Britain's transported exiles, and the numbers of convicts arriving annually swelled to immense proportions. In the year 1841–2, over 7 500 fresh British transportees arrived in Hobart Town (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 53). A new convict management system was rapidly fabricated for the penal colony.

'a disastrous public experiment': Lord Stanley's Probation System

The Probation System was the last major phase of convict management in Van Diemen's Land. Attempting to enforce the simultaneous goals of punishment and reform, the 1839 Molesworth Report recommended a standard period of punitive imprisonment for every transported convict, followed by a period of labour that could be shortened by demonstrations of obedience (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 53; Robson 1983, p. 387). Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Colonies during the early 1840s, used this two-stage management plan as the basis for his Probation System. When applied to the management of *female* convicts, Stanley's administrative program underwent some modification. Since the Ross Female Factory was established during the Probation period, specific characteristics of the management of female convicts under the Probation System will be presented separately within this section of the report. Historical studies of the Probation System as applied to female convict management have been done by Lyndall Ryan (1991; 1995), Joy Damousi (1997a), and Kay Daniels (1998a, 1998b).

To the dismay of the colonial elite, male convicts were removed from assigned service, and reorganized into work gangs to serve a fixed period of labour at public

works. The colonial government assumed the expense of maintaining convicts serving this fixed punitive period, and incarcerated them within probation stations, a networked system of penal compounds established throughout the settled districts of Van Diemen's Land.

The prisoners at probation stations, consisting of 250 to 300 men at each, were to be divided into 3 classes: the 3rd Class—to be subjected to separate confinement (ie housed individually when not at work); the 2nd Class—to be huddled in rooms of 10 men; and the 1st Class—composed of those men approaching the end of their probation period, to be housed in huts containing 20 men. (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 53)

Designed in the style of military barracks, the probation stations architecturally ensured the absolute segregation of inmates by class (Kerr 1988, pp. 50–3). At least eighty-five probation stations were established between 1841 and 1853, when transportation to the island colony ceased (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 53). After successfully serving their probationary period, convicts were encouraged to reform by moving through successive stages of less severe punishment, finally earning conditional pardons. In order to provide labour for free settlers, and share the cost of convict maintenance, a system of probation passes was developed, and convicts were hired out to merchants and pastoral properties on short-term contracts until they earned a ticket-of-leave and the right to labour for wages (Brand 1990, p. 17–21). Although secondary punishment for recalcitrants primarily involved periods of incarceration, heavy labour and solitary confinement at Port Arthur, the remote penal settlements at Maria Island and Sarah Island were re-opened as Probation Stations because of the local timber resources (Brand 1990).

End of Transportation

Responsible for the early implementation of Lord Stanley's Probation System, Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Franklin grew frustrated with the lack of resources necessary for proper administration of the management scheme. In 1842 he reported to the Colonial Office that in his opinion the system laid down by the previous Secretary of State would have proved 'expensive beyond any estimate Your Lordship may have formed', and would have required 'very complicated and expensive machinery for supervision' (Brand 1990, p. 23). Ultimately, only one Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land perceived the Probation System to be functional, and Sir John E. Eardley-Wilmot was frequently dismissed by British Parliamentarians as 'a muddle-brained blockhead' (Brand 1990, p. 24). His 1843–46 administration was characterized by inadequate reports to the Colonial Office (Brand 1990, p. 27), causing little trust to be placed in his perceptions of the Probation System. Eventually it was recognized that '... the combination of poor local administration, inadequate funding, and poor communication between the colonies

and the [British] Colonial and Home Offices, meant that the probation system was never fully implemented, and was not effective' (Pearson & Marshall 1995, p. 53). In 1847, Sir William Denison, the last Lieutenant-Governor during Tasmania's convict era, issued a damning critique:

... the universal opinion expressed by all who have had the opportunity of judging, is that, with very few exceptions, the convict issues from the probation station a worse man than when he entered it. (Brand 1990, p. 4)

Economic, penal and social agendas underlay the end of Australian transportation. Firstly, from a penological position, transportation was perceived to be simultaneously too lenient an experience for British felons, and too corrupting an influence on their already dubious morality. British and Australian reformers accused the Probation System of encouraging sexual deviance among convicts, particularly bestiality and homosexuality (Damousi 1997a, pp. 69–72; Brand 1990, pp. 36–7). These 'crimes of an unnatural nature' luridly fascinated Parliamentarians, penal architects, Convict Department Officials and the colonial elite of Van Diemen's Land; exaggerated stories of rape, sodomy and 'pseudo-males' served to justify dominant image of the convicts as utterly and irredeemably corrupted by the depravities of transportation (Hughes 1987, pp. 269–71; Brand 1990, p. 101).

Furthermore, the failure of Australian transportation as a crime deterrent caused many British penal philosophers to argue that the system effectively rewarded criminals for their felonies. After fifty years of colonial development, Van Diemen's Land no longer appeared to be 'the Isle of the Damned', a remote and horrible dumping ground for criminal exiles. Enough stories of wealthy emancipists had returned to Britain for transportation to be perceived as providing the convict with a free ticket to better opportunities. In his 1863 report on the state of the British penal system, Sir Joshua Jebb, the Surveyor General of Prisons, persuasively argued that many felons had committed their crimes explicitly to obtain free passage to the Australian colonies (Jebb 1985). To diminish recidivism and criminal activity within Britain, Jebb called for the cessation of Australian transportation, and the construction of state-run penitentiaries to punish and reform criminals within England.

The free settlers, emancipists and 'Currency' of Van Diemen's Land also believed their colony had begun to transcend its convict origins. Following the stinging criticism of the Molesworth Report, an anti-transportation movement gained strong colonial support. Since the early 1830s, 'anti-slavery' sentiments had been held by prominent British philanthropists and elite-class social reformers, culminating in the abolition of slave trade within the Empire in 1833. These social activists perceived both the Assignment and Probation Systems

of convict management to be legally sanctioned forms of forced labour, alarmingly similar to slavery (Kociumbas 1992, pp. 297–9; Brand 1990, pp. 105–6; Hughes 1987, pp. 554–60). Thus, British and colonial elites joined forces to fiercely lobby Parliament for the end of transportation (Hughes 1987, pp. 557–9), and large public rallies in Hobart and Sydney accompanied the publication of numerous anti-transportation pamphlets, reports, travel-tales and broadsheets (Sidney 1852; West 1847, 1852; Hargraves 1855). This propaganda damned the covert 'slave trade' of convict exiles and called for 'the right of the free labourer to be protected from the degradation of working with convicts' (Kociumbas 1992, p. 299).

The British Government eventually responded to these anti-transportation pressures:

[In February 1853], the Duke of Newcastle, who had succeeded Pakington [as Secretary of State], advised [Lieutenant-Governor] Denison that the Queen, in her speech at the opening of Parliament, had referred to the desire to end transportation to Van Diemen's Land, and soon after he wrote: ... I have to announce to you that no more convict ships will be sent out; and although I am well aware that this decision is at variance with the options which you have been led to entertain as to the real interests of the colony, I am equally confident that your accustomed zeal and discretion will be exercised in endeavouring to introduce the new order of things successfully, and to promote all such measures as may seem necessary in order to modify the temporary inconvenience which must necessarily attend any such great alteration in the social condition of a people. (Brand 1990, pp. 95–6)

On 26 May 1853 the *St Vincent* landed in Hobart depositing 207 men, the last British convicts transported to Van Diemen's Land. Official recognition followed, and '... the actual order of Her Majesty in Council, repealing the convict status of Van Diemen's Land, was sent to Denison on 6 January 1854' (Brand 1990, p. 96). Over the continuous protest of the other colonies, transportation continued in Western Australia. Between 1850 and 1868, over 9 600 male convicts were exiled to Fremantle, Perth and the settled districts of the western colony. However, fierce and unified resistance from the Victorian, New South Wales, Tasmanian and South Australian Anti-transportation Leagues convinced the British to end transportation:

Her Majesty's Government was no longer prepared to trade the convenience of draining six hundred felons a year into Western Australia for the grave risk of alienating all the eastern colonies, which had the population, the money, the resources, the trade—everything, in fact that made a colony worth having. ... On January 10, 1868, the last convict ship to Australia landed its cargo of sixty Fenian political prisoners and more common assorted malefactors at Fremantle, eighty

years to the month, if not quite the day, since Captain Arthur Phillip brought the First Fleet to its anchorage in Sydney Cove. (Hughes 1987, p. 580)

Historical Approaches to Female Convictism

While criminologists have recognized gender differences in the nature and experience of incarceration since the 18th century, serious theoretical and historical analysis of the imprisonment of women only emerged in the 1970s (Smart 1976; Howe 1994; Morris 1987; Gelsthorpe & Morris 1990). Such work criticized the implicitly stereotyped gender roles that informed mainstream research in criminology (Allen 1988; Chadwick & Little 1987), and demonstrated 'that the actions and criminalisation of women [were] inextricably related to socially constructed understandings of sex, gender and sexuality, and thus [needed] to be analysed in the broader context of historically specific ideologies, practices and structures.' (Davies 1995, p. 100). Supporting such contextual analysis, a variety of studies have been published on the evolution of female crime and incarceration in England (Dobash, Dobash & Gutteridge 1986; Zedner 1991), America (Freedman 1981), and Australia (Byrne 1993; Robinson 1993; Heath 1978; Daniels 1984; Ryan 1991). Good historiographical surveys of research on Australian convict women have already been published (Oxley 1996; Aveling 1992a; Lake 1989). In this manuscript, only some major themes will be discussed.

A Brief Historiography

Traditional approaches to Australian convict history both stereotyped and minimized the role of women within the penal colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (Robson 1965; Clark 1956, 1962; Shaw 1966). Within these narratives, female convicts only appeared as essentially sexualized and immoral creatures—'Theft and prostitution were the main occupations of those born to filth and wretchedness.' (Clark 1956, p. 134). Represented as a monolithic group, the female convicts were deemed necessary for the domestication and expansion of the colonies, yet corrupted by their association with a professional criminal class (Oxley 1996, pp. 4–8; Hirst 1983). This faceless aggregate of 'damned whores' occupied the margins of (male) convict history; authors provided brief discussion of their existence only to confirm their position as 'England's social sewage' (Oxley 1997, p. 97).

The first histories of female convicts emerged as 'second-wave' feminism encouraged reconsiderations of women's role in the colonization of Australia (Summers 1975; Dixon 1976). Although these gyno-centric reactionary histories continued the characterization of transported women as helpless victims of patriarchal society, they positioned female convicts as a significant and worthy subject of historical research. Further efforts to breakdown the monolithic stereotype of female convicts resulted in the publication of a number of

histories documenting the experiences of convict women in colonial New South Wales (Robinson 1979, 1993; Smith 1988; Aveling 1992b), Van Diemen's Land (Payne 1961; Tardif 1990; Parrott 1996), and Queensland (Johnson 1988; Sparkes 1992; O'Connor 1994). Research began to focus on the cultural landscapes and physical structures inhabited by the female convicts. Published posthumously, Ian Brand's (1990) descriptive history of the male and female convict Probation Stations of Van Diemen's Land has become a central reference for the identification, assessment and management of Tasmanian convict sites (Parham & Noble 1994; Evans 1996). Similarly, James Scemple Kerr's architectural studies of Australian convict places (Kerr 1984; 1988) illustrated transformations in philosophies of incarceration, as evolutions of British penal design fabricated the dramatic variety of male and female convict places throughout the Australian colonies. Other work focused on the process of maritime transportation, and the spatial, gendered and sexual relationships that developed en route to the colonies (Smith 1988; Brand & Staniforth 1994; Damousi 1997a). Specific histories of the Australian female factories (Heath 1978; Salt 1983, 1984; Weatherburn 1979; Daniels 1984; Aveling 1992a; Bartlett 1994; Sparkes 1992; Ashton & Rosen 1990) documented the complex administrative and social histories of these female convict prisons.

As popular historians continued propagating images of the passive and monolithic convict whore (Hughes 1987), other researchers developed more theoretically rigorous approaches to understanding the social world created and inhabited by female convicts. Some feminist historians focused on interpreting the subtle varieties of gender and power relationships that occurred inside the female factories (Damousi 1997a, 1997b; Daniels 1993), while others explored the intersections of production and reproduction through women's socio-economic roles within Australia's convict era (Perrott 1983; Alford 1984; Oxley 1996; Reid 1997). Further work examined the origins, evolution and continued propagation of the 'damned whores' stereotype (Sturma 1978; Lake 1989; Summers 1975; Oxley 1997).

The deceptively simple recognition that life experiences of female convicts differed greatly from those of male convicts led historians towards contextual explorations of how, when, and where those differences occurred. Transcending synchronic and descriptive characterizations of the 'generic' life of the 'typical' Australian female convict, Lyndall Ryan (1995) and Kay Daniels (1998a) have recently presented chronologies of imperial and colonial administrative policies for management of female convicts in Van Diemen's Land colony. Both historians recognized dramatic changes in the nature of punishment, assigned labour, incarceration, and social reintegration that shaped the colonial experiences of approximately 12 000 female convicts transported to the penal colony over a fifty year period.

Their diachronic perspectives both situated different periods of administrative policy within wider transformations in Western philosophies of gender and sexuality, social control and labour relations that occurred throughout the 19th century. Although specific differences in their models will be discussed below, these new works have greatly contributed to research on Australian female convictism by not just emphasizing the diversity of women's experiences, but by explaining the particular administrative and philosophic evolutions that were to configure the lives of female convicts.

Constructing a Chronology

Feminist historian Lyndall Ryan suggested that the experience of female convicts in Van Diemen's Land could be divided into three major periods (Ryan 1995). The nature of these phases changed 'in response to shifting social and economic conditions in Britain and the Australian colonies and reflected changing attitudes about female punishment' (Ryan 1995, p. 71). Although recent work has suggested some new interpretations on the nature of female discipline, labour, and collective resistance in the final 'probationary' phase of transportation to Van Diemen's Land (Daniels 1998b), the three basic phases are a useful means for understanding the evolving role of female factories within the Australian convict system. In summary, Ryan's three periods were:

1) The Open Prison Phase (1803–14). This period was developed as a response to British industrialization. This new economic order wrought dramatic socio-economic transformations within Europe, including expanded definitions of 'private property' introduction of new criminal laws, changes in the nature and location of labour, emergence of wage-based economies, changes in domestic gender relations, and increased urbanization and poverty. During this phase, female convicts were either supported through domestic relationships with colonial officers or convict men, or employed in government service as housekeepers, washerwomen or field labourers. Expected to fund their own food and lodging, the government-supported women were allowed periods of 'free labour' to enable them to earn money to pay for their accommodation.

2) The Assignment/Confinement Phase (1815–43). The second period emerged as a response to social upheavals in both Britain and Australia occurring during the 1820s and 1830s. Demobilization of troops at the close of the Napoleonic Wars encouraged new migration of free settlers to the Australian colonies; this new class of colonial elites urgently required docile reformed women to function as both domestic servants and wives. Assignment of female convicts to the gentry class was perceived as the cheapest and most effective method of disciplining the women while harnessing their labour. Female factories were established in the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to institutionalize

the protection, secondary punishment and labour exploitation of female convicts (Salt 1984, pp. 41–4).

3) The Probation/Incarceration Phase (1844–53). Ryan related this period to changes in punishment schemes designed for women, and to political unrest in Britain and Ireland during the 1840s. Emerging philosophies of penal reform focused disciplinary programs on the 'rehabilitation' of criminal minds, rather than on outward signs of compliance. Towards this goal, female convicts experienced standardized probationary periods of incarceration within newly designed penitentiaries where they were subjected to daily regimens of domestic taskwork, hygiene rituals, Scripture reading, and obedient silence. Operating as a gendered version of Lord Stanley's Probation System, this program was described by Lieutenant-Governor Franklin in 1841 as intended 'to influence the mind, and to make punishment certain and equal in its effects' (quoted in Ryan 1995, p. 80). After serving their incarceration period, the docile convicts were assigned to private domestic service for the colonial elites. If any breach of strict disciplinary laws was detected, the convict was removed from service and returned to penal incarceration. The Ross Female Factory was established during this phase of convict management. From 1848 to 1855, it operated as a prison and hiring depot for female convicts, and provided domestic labour to the rural central Midlands districts of Van Diemen's Land.

While Ryan argued that increases in surveillance accompanied the introduction of each new phase of female convict management, historian Kay Daniels recently explored the complex nature of social discipline employed within female factories. Echoing discussions of disciplinary process and *biopower* explored by social theorists Michel Foucault (1977b; 1981) and Erving Goffman (1961), Daniels claimed:

The late period in Van Diemen's Land is . . . of significance not so much because of the introduction of "probation" (the implications of which are particularly problematic for convict women) but because in this last phase of transportation a number of factors reshaped female convict management and the ideas underpinning its administration. In this period the form incarceration takes is increasingly influenced by ideas of prison reform, with a greater emphasis on classification, observance and isolation; punishments change, with a greater emphasis on disciplining the individual rather than humiliating her; reformation of the individual becomes more important, so that all convict women are subjected to some form of reformatory supervision; doctors and medical ideas play a greater role. (Daniels 1998b, p. 3)

Daniels further emphasized the changing purpose of incarceration, as it was intended and practiced during the final 'probationary' period of female convict management in Van Diemen's Land. She suggested an

alternative way of tracing the history of female convict management:

It seems more accurate to see assignment in a variety of manifestations as a continuing and central feature of female convict transportation rather than as a characteristic of one phase: from the earliest settlement in New South Wales, when individual women were assigned in an informal way to officers and other settlers as servants and sexual partners (as was replicated in Van Diemen's Land); through a regulated system of assignment which grows up as a concern with morality, and reformation becomes more dominant, and which requires the creation of female factories for its efficient functioning; and finally, to a form of assignment after incarceration either in Britain before transportation or in the colony, in which wages are paid by the master. (Daniels 1998b, p. 2)

Daniels linked the resumption of immediate assignment through the 1850s with a period of disillusionment, as convict officials realized the deficiency of their disciplinary 'probation' scheme:

Punishments that harden rather than lead to reformation of character came to be regarded as ineffectual. The inquiry suggested that treatment that [sic] degraded and humiliated women convicts damaged what it called their "self-regard". This was another reason to support assignment and the reintegration of women into the community rather than isolating and incarcerating them. (Daniels 1988b, p. 5)

As a report presenting excavations of the Ross Factory site, the history presented within this manuscript summarizes physical attributes that reflect the establishment and use-life of the seven Australian female factories in order to contextualize and interpret the recovered archaeological data. By focusing on the factories as places of convict incarceration, I am not intending to suggest female convict experiences only occurred within these factories. Indeed, as historian Kay Daniels asserted, the assignment of female convicts to free settlers as unwaged domestic labourers was a significant and enduring aspect of female convict management throughout the Transportation period (Daniels 1998b). Thus, future historical (and archaeological) research must consider other places associated with female convict work, as the universal experiences shared by these convict women may have been more related to isolated domestic labour rather than communal institutional incarceration.

But regardless of the specific classification system adopted, or the research emphasis placed on domestic versus institutional experiences, most scholars recognize the multi-faceted nature of female convict lives within colonial Australia. These experiences typically included some combination of disciplinary incarceration within female factories and assignment of labour to free

settlers. An understanding of the loosely organized network of female penal establishments can only be gained through examination of the evolving systems of management that operated those sites and shaped the lives of transported women.

The Australian Female Factories

The complexities involved with representing and interpreting Australian female factories results from the multiple roles these institutions played within colonial society:

A female factory became the means of regulating and controlling the use and disbursement of female convicts and of punishing the recalcitrant or criminal. It was destined to become workhouse and labour bureau, marriage bureau and regulator of morality, gaol and hospital, and at the same time, to relieve the financial burden on the administration of female convicts and their many children. This very multiplicity of roles made the administration of such an institution a confusing and difficult task. (Salt 1984, p. 44)

Constant transformations in administrative policies for the management of transported convicts effected the nebulous role of the Australian female factories. As the last convict institution to be established in the eastern Australian colonies, both the architecture and social order of the Ross Female Factory reflected management policies developed during the last period of convict transportation. The specific history of the Ross institution must therefore be contextualized within the development of the other eight Australian factories.

The Female Factories of New South Wales

Following an arson-related fire which consumed the original timber and thatch Parramatta gaol on 28 December 1799 (Kerr 1995, p. 1), Governor Philip Gidley King approved funds for a new sandstone prison. Built by convict stonemasons and craftsmen, 'there remains the strong suspicion that [the builders] conspired to erect a place of confinement with as short a life as possible' (Kerr 1995, p. 3). At some time before its completion in April 1803, King ordered the addition of a linen and woollen manufactory as a separate precinct within the penal compound at Parramatta. This 'factory yard' became the 'domain of the female convicts' until another arson-related fire destroyed the Factory on 21 December 1807 (Kerr 1995, p. 3).

In 1817 Governor Lachlan Macquarie received a stinging critique from Lord Bathurst (Secretary of State for the Colonies) regarding the lack of appropriate accommodation for transported female convicts. As a result, Macquarie ordered the construction of a separate establishment for the management of Government Women, located at some distance from the Parramatta male convict gaol, and surrounded by a nine foot stone

wall (Salt 1984, p. 48; Kerr 1984, pp. 43–4). This new establishment was expected to stimulate the improvement of convict women through enforcement of morally acceptable and economically productive labour. Thus, the name 'Factory' was an abbreviation of the institutional title 'Manufactory', and referred to the establishment's intended role as a House of Industry. While incarcerated, female convicts were:

... put to work making articles of clothing and blankets, doing laundry and other domestic duties. Envisaged as a way of teaching convict women "useful tasks", this labour was regarded both as a means of moral reform and a method of ensuring financial return for the [institution]. It also prepared the women for participation in the wider colonial economy, in which the influx of middle class migrants ... had created a demand for domestic servants [and wives]. (Terry 1998, p. 10)

Begun in 1818, the newly reconstructed Female Factory at Parramatta was completed by 1822 (Kerr 1984, p. 41). Based on designs by the famous convict architect Francis Greenway, the main cruciform structure was intended to house 300 convict women (Kerr 1995, p. 6; Kerr 1984, pp. 42–3). Roofed with she-oak shingles, this three-storeys-tall sandstone building was floored with a combination of 1-inch-thick stringybark wood boards and 6-inch-thick sandstone paving. Although the building was intended to be secure, its stone walls 'ranging from 2 feet 6 inches at the foundations to 20 inches at the apex of its three stories' (Salt 1984, p. 48), modifications to the rusticated facing on the walls of the basement were deemed necessary within a few years of operation. A popular dress face for stone institutional buildings during the Georgian Period, the rustication pattern left the centre sandstone blocks with rough picked faces raised 1½ inches. 'When the wall of the building was erected the 1½ inch toeholds gave fairly easy access to the windows and it was necessary to chisel the upper corner of the rustication to a weathering slope' (Kerr 1984, p. 45).

Flanking the main prison were two sandstone wings of one-storey, providing mess rooms and general dormitories. The factory quadrangle also included a number of outbuildings intended for workrooms, kitchens and storerooms. Other than the barred leadlight windows installed in the basement of the main prison, all windows were paned with clear glass, and could be opened to promote hygienic circulation of air (Salt 1984, p. 48).

Later Governors found the Parramatta Female Factory to be inadequate for accommodation of the rising female convict population (Salt 1984, pp. 51–2). During his 1819 Parliamentary Inquiry into the Australian Colonies, Commissioner John Thomas Bigge urged Macquarie to 'provide separate departments for females under further sentence and new arrivals from England' (Kerr 1984, p. 44). With the emergence of new criminological philosophies within Britain (Ignatieff 1978, pp. 57–79;

Evans 1982), inmates of the factory were not segregated by financial means, but by degree of perceived corruption and/or redemption. Modifying Macquarie's original classification system, in 1822 Governor Brisbane introduced a system of categorizing female convicts into three 'classes':

The third, or crime, class absorbed the women who were found guilty of secondary offences, together with females who were reputed to be incorrigible. During their imprisonment, generally for a period of from three to twelve months, these women came under [greater restraint], their heads were shaved and ... they were allocated tasks of a degrading and stultifying nature to increase their sense of punishment. The second class was composed of women sent to the factory for minor offences, together with those who, having completed a term of punishment in the crime class, had to undergo a period of probation before becoming eligible for release. Successful probationers were transferred to the first class to join the women who had been returned to the factory for reasons beyond their own control and whose conduct was therefore regarded as being beyond reproach. (Heath 1978, p. 55)

This basic classification system was used to discipline, administer and categorize convict women throughout the Australian female factories. Following extensive lobbying of Viscount Goderich (Secretary of State for the Colonies) by British penal reformer Elizabeth Fry, the separation of these three 'classes' of convicts directed subsequent architectural designs for all Australian female factories (Kerr 1984, pp. 66–8, 104–5; Parrott 1996). Separate wards, yards, and solitary cells were designed for each class.

Following continual problems with overcrowding, culminating in a damning evaluation of the Parramatta Factory by the Bigge Commission, further female factories were established in New South Wales at Bathurst (1817), Newcastle (1820) and Port Macquarie (1821) (Damousi 1997a, p. 85). Although little research has been completed on these other factories of New South Wales, one historian briefly mentioned that by 1830, Governor Brisbane's system of inmate classification was adopted at the Newcastle Factory, and the establishment was architecturally divided to segregate the three classes of convict women (Daniels 1998a, p. 116).

Regardless of ideal classification programs, the overcrowded factories provided accommodation for a diverse mix of Government dependents for varying periods of sentence:

The categories of females in the [Parramatta] factory remained the same—habitual miscreants and colonial offenders, incapacitated and unassignable convicts, pregnant women, nursing mothers and new arrivals. The factory also served as a House of Correction for free women under

sentences of hard labour. The period of time spent in the factory depended on the reason for confinement and the demand for labour. A convict woman committed for a second offence in the colony had to serve the full term of her additional sentence before becoming eligible for release. If she were not under disciplinary confinement, she could be assigned at the discretion of the resident magistrates; if she were well-behaved, she could be released on a ticket-of-leave after a probationary period of from two to four years . . . If she married, she was allowed to live with her husband, provided she committed no act which warranted her return to the factory. Women with infants usually stayed in the factory until their children were three years old when they were placed in an orphanage . . . Most settlers were reluctant to issue rations to a woman whose family responsibilities might prevent her contributing significantly to her own upkeep and, unless it was clearly in their own interests to do so, preferred to withhold permission to marry from their assigned servants. . . . [because] punishment in the factory generally meant the cancellation of indulgences, it seems probable that few women completed their original sentence while still caring for an infant. Finally, a small group of women who were incapable of adjusting to freedom because of ill-health, old age or insanity, found refuge in the institution until they were eventually released by death. (Heath 1978, pp. 31-2)

Disciplinary problems constantly occurred within the female factories, including the dramatic Parramatta riot of 1827, when inmates from the Crime Class absconded from the prison:

About 40 "took to the bush" and another 100 charged into Parramatta itself, grabbed as much food as they could, and only returned when confronted by the soldiers of the 57th Regiment. The *Sydney Gazette* described them as "Amazonian banditti" . . . (Daniels 1993, p. 134)

These brazen displays of collective resistance were met with both architectural and social responses from authorities. At Parramatta, the addition of blocks of solitary cells for separate treatment of suspected 'ringleaders' (Kerr 1984, pp. 45, 68) was accompanied by the introduction of a merit-based scale of graduated rations, distinctions in clothing allocations (Salt 1984, p. 73), and punishments intended to humiliate offenders, such as head shaving and periods of public bondage in an iron collar (Bartlett 1994, p. 116; Damousi 1997b; Daniels 1998a).

Administrative problems were also damaging, with a succession of Superintendents and Visiting Magistrates found to be antagonistic, corrupt and inefficient (Salt 1984, pp. 55-64). Similar problems were to plague the other Australian female factories throughout the convict era:

The lack of a clearly defined function and role of both the Factory and its personnel, created tremendous administrative problems. When its prime function became codified as penal, administration was still complicated by the numbers of non-penitentiary women the Factory housed. Unfortunately, the stigma of the penitentiary affected all Factory inmates. The task of running such a multi-faceted establishment was difficult enough; but the Factory's staff faced the external pressure of the imperial government's demand for economy, efficiency and reform, re-directed through the colonial administration. They also bore the burden of those changes within the colony which affected the economic assimilation of convict women. These changing pressures made cohesive policy difficult to develop and maintain, and resulted in an administration which satisfied most of the people none of the time. (Salt 1984, pp. 67-8)

The cessation of convict transportation to New South Wales in 1840 coincided with a period of severe economic depression within the Australian colonies. Given the sharp decline in the population of convict inmates, the Parramatta Female Factory began to institutionally accommodate other types of colonial dependants—male and female invalids, lunatic prisoners and paupers. Operating through 1848 as a female factory, by 1850 the Parramatta site was renamed the Parramatta Lunatic Asylum (Salt 1984, p. 119). During the 1880s most of the original factory buildings were demolished during extension of the Asylum (Kerr 1995, pp. 28-30; Salt 1984, p. 119). Remnants of the original perimeter wall, and two outbuildings of Francis Greenway's factory complex survive within the modern Cumberland Hospital (Kerr 1995, p. 6).

The Queensland Factories

With the 1825 relocation of the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement to the Brisbane River, an increasing number of female convicts were transported to Queensland (O'Connor 1997, p. 132; O'Connor 1994, pp. 50-5; Johnston 1988). By 1829 a female factory was established a third of a mile north-east from the large male convict town (Kerr 1984, p. 116; Sparkes 1992; Fitzgerald 1982, pp. 71-121). Located on a small knoll beside a drainage creek, the Factory consisted of a main brick building and five outbuildings arranged in a quadrangle layout. This compound was surrounded by a perimeter wall, with access controlled through a watch house located on the south-west exterior (Kerr 1984, p. 116). Construction of the Brisbane General Post Office at this site probably destroyed archaeological remains of this first Queensland female factory (Pearson & Marshall 1995, table 5).

Attempts to segregate male and female convicts at the Moreton Bay Settlement proved futile (Steele 1975; Saunders 1982). In 1836 the Queensland Female Factory was relocated into the Eagle Farm Agricultural Establishment, ensuring greater distance from the male

convicts settled in Brisbane (Ashton & Rosen 1990). Even with increased accommodation at the new Eagle Farm Factory, closure of the Brisbane factory necessitated the removal of approximately 300 female convicts to the already overcrowded Parramatta Female Factory (Salt 1984, p. 53). The Eagle Farm site operated through to 1839. Archaeological remains of this factory may lie beneath a runway of the Brisbane International Airport (Sparkes 1992; Ashton & Rosen 1990).

The Van Diemen's Land Factories

Roughly based on the disciplinary and reformatory schemes of the Parramatta Factory, the Van Diemen's Land factories operated separately from the New South Wales and Queensland penal institutions. The Tasmanian Factories formed part of a loose network of 'female establishments' across the island colony. This network also included other, more use-specific sites, such as a convict Nursery at Dynnyrne (a neighbourhood immediately south-west of Hobart), two Hiring Depots (Launceston, and 'Brickfields' in Hobart), and the *Anson*, a convict Hulk, or decommissioned naval vessel, used to alleviate overcrowding at the Cascade Factory. As multi-purpose institutions for the accommodation, punishment, reform and education of transported women, the female factories differed from these other female convict establishments. Similar in purpose to the Parramatta Factory, the Van Diemen's Land factories served as general management centres for punishment, disciplinary reform, nursery care, hospitalization, and employment of female convicts.

The Cascades (Hobart) Female Factory

Two Parks and Wildlife Service reports exist on the history of the Cascades Female Factory (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992; Rayner 1981). Established on the northern bank of the Hobart Rivulet, approximately 5 miles from Hobart Town, the first yard of the factory was purchased in 1827 by the Convict Department from a private business. Thus, the original sandstone walls of the First Yard dated to 1824, when they surrounded the Lowes Distillery (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, p. 7). Alterations to the original compound included the addition of 12-foot-wide Dormitories along the eastern and western walls of the Yard, construction of a two-storey Staff Quarters at the southern front of the courtyard, and erection of a Chapel against the northern boundary wall (Rayner 1981, p. 7). The First Yard was divided into seven regions: Entrance and Offices, Nursery, Hospital, Kitchen, and each of the three Classes of female convicts. Initial occupation of the factory began in December 1828.

Overcrowding of the First Yard led to expansion of the Cascade Factory in 1830. Completed by 1833, the Second Yard was built against the western wall of the First Yard. The Second Yard housed a spatially separated block of solitary cells along the southern (front) wall,

and another two-storey block along the northern wall (Rayner 1981, p. 15). During the 1840s a Hospital was added to the Second Yard. Its exact location is unknown (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, p. 8). In 1852 a Wash House was converted into a two-storey rectangular convict Dormitory, 140 x 20 feet in dimension.

Investigations into continued allegations of overcrowding led to construction of the Third Yard between 1842 and 1845 (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, p. 9). This Yard was built against the eastern sandstone wall of the First Yard. Two long narrow two-storey cell blocks divided this Yard into three sections; the central transect was further divided by an interior wall, creating a total of four separate exercise yards (Rayner 1981, p. 28). Built of sandstone, these blocks contained 28 cells on each floor, yielding a total of 112 two-room cells of 12 feet x 4 feet, six inches. These Third Yard cells enabled the total isolation of inmates; the anterior space provided for daily task work, and the posterior room provided accommodation for sleeping and washing. The design of these cells were unique within the Australian colonies, providing a singular and experimental architecture for incarceration of female convicts (Kerr 1984; Casella 1995).

Continued overcrowding and high rates of infant mortality through the 1840s eventually caused the addition of a Fourth Yard in 1850. This new Nursery Yard adjoined the eastern wall of the Third Yard. Built of sandstone, brick and timber, the rectangular main structure was constructed along the western wall, facing eastwards, with dimensions of approximately 160 feet x 26 feet (Rayner 1981, p. 37). A single-storey Matron's House observed the entrance of the Fourth Yard through large bay windows (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, p. 10).

In 1852 the Fifth Yard was added to the Cascade Factory. Containing a two-storey Dormitory and a block of sanitary facilities, this last yard was the westernmost feature of the penal compound, and the last addition to the Factory (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, p. 11). Following cessation of Van Diemen's Land transportation in 1855, the Cascade Female Factory was transformed into an establishment for institutional accommodation of colonial female prisoners, male invalids, young male delinquents, and patients with contagious diseases. By the 1930s all internal structures of the Cascade Female Factory had been demolished (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, pp. 7–12). The First Yard, demolished in 1924 for the construction of two tennis courts, retained its original sandstone and brick perimeter wall. Purchased by the Parks and Wildlife Service of Tasmania, this Yard has been designated a State Reserve as the Women's Prison Historic Site (Scripps & Hudspeth 1992, p. 8). In 1997 the Third Yard of the Cascade Factory underwent a limited program of archaeological excavation. Results of this project are available through The Festival of Tasmania, owners of Island Produce, the fudge factory that currently occupies the site of the Third Yard.

The George Town Female Factory

Little research has been published on the history of the George Town Female Factory. Established in the late 1820s for the accommodation and management of female convicts in the north of Tasmania (Bartlett 1994, p. 117), the factory occupied a large brick building located on the north side of Cimitiere Street between Elizabeth and Anne Streets. Local oral histories suggest this structure was rented from an Anglican Reverend resident in George Town. This temporary establishment was considered highly inadequate. In 1829 a Magistrate's report described the structure as cold, damp and unhealthy, and noted that all the windows were broken (Brown 1972, p. 23). A report in the northern Tasmanian newspaper justified the closure of the George Town Factory by describing the establishment 'as a "sink of iniquity" where there appears to be no ruling principle but that of punishment; reformation being lost sight of. The women were sent to George Town for ungovernable depravity; to learn more depravity.' (quoted in Bartlett 1994, p. 117 *Launceston Advertiser*, 6.3.1834).

After the northern female factory was relocated to the purpose-built Launceston penitentiary in 1834, the George Town site was supposedly occupied through the late 19th century by a hotel and pub. During the 20th century, the original brick structure was purchased by the Tasmanian Police Department and housed the George Town Police Station. Local residents claim the structure was demolished sometime during the 1930s. Today, remnants of the brick foundations are located on private property. During 1997 this site underwent a program of limited excavation. Two 1-metre trenches were dug across the site. Remains of a brick and mortar structure were located, and a box of artefactual materials recovered (C. Macknight, pers. comm. 1997). Information on results from this project are available through the Department of History at the University of Tasmania, Launceston campus.

The Launceston Female Factory

Designed in 1832 by colonial architect John Lee Archer, this octagonal female factory became the earliest experiment with modern 'reformed' penal architecture in the Australian colonies (Kerr 1984, p. 94), predating the infamous 'Model Prison' of Port Arthur by fifteen years (Weidenhofer 1981). Although the basic radial design was formally approved by the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline (SIPD), a powerful Parliamentary penal reform lobby, the Launceston Factory plans were also criticized for their inclusion of communal dormitories rather than individual cells for accommodation of female inmates. Archer's modern radial plans also presented details of the subterranean drain system, including flow patterns for both fresh water and sewage through the institution (AOT PWD 290/823). Architectural fascination with sanitary

conditions inside 'reformed' penal institutions related to fashionable philosophies of moral and physical contamination then emerging within Europe (Foucault 1977a; Evans 1982; Ignatieff 1978; Upton 1992). Although nearly completed by December 1833, the experimental factory was not officially occupied until late 1834 (Bartlett 1994, p. 117).

Constructed near the intersection of Bathurst and Paterson Streets, the new factory adjoined the Launceston Gaol, then the primary institution for male convicts in northern Van Diemen's Land. The octagonal compound consisted of four radial wards branching from a central brick and sandstone two-storey tower. Three of these wards were dormitories capable of incarcerating thirty women each. The fourth ward consisted of the Hospital and Nursery (Kerr 1984, p. 94). The octagonal compound also contained three sheds, providing places for storage, washing and spinning.

To maximize architecturally enforced surveillance, the lower floor of the tower contained the Superintendents' Quarters, while the upper floor housed the Chapel. Responding to reform efforts by Elizabeth Fry and the SIPD, complete separation of Classes of female convicts was architecturally attempted within the Launceston Factory. Each Dormitory yard was enclosed with internal sandstone walls that similarly radiated from the central tower (Kerr 1984, p. 94). However, overcrowding prevented successful classification and isolation of the Classes. In his despatch of 25 November 1842, the Parliamentary order introducing the Probation System of convict management to Van Diemen's Land, Lord Stanley (Secretary of State for the Colonies) condemned the subjection of 'every class of offenders to the contamination of mutual bad example' (Brand 1990, p. 22). He further demanded that the Factories become places of secondary punishment for recalcitrants and recidivists, and immediately divest themselves of all other administrative functions.

By 1847, in his despatch to Earl Grey (the succeeding Secretary of State for the Colonies), Charles J. La Trobe documented the near completion of 24 one-storey brick separate apartments, 'enclosed by a good wall' (Brand 1990, p. 200). He noted that this disciplinary addition to the Factory would not provide the facilities for solitary confinement. Attention to increased discipline at the Launceston Factory may well have related to continued public scandals, including evidence of collusion of Factory officials in black market exchange networks (Bartlett 1994, p. 119), and an 1842 riot during which inmates successfully seized control of the institution for two days (Bartlett 1994, pp. 122–3; Daniels 1993).

Following the 1854 cessation of transportation to Van Diemen's Land, inmate numbers dropped rapidly. On 3 October 1855 the colonial Governor of newly baptized 'Tasmania' proclaimed the institution to be a House of Correction for domestic offenders, to be managed by the

Launceston Sheriff (Bartlett 1994, p. 124). During the early 20th century, remaining structures of the experimental radial prison were demolished and replaced by the Launceston High School. Remaining features include a portion of the sandstone perimeter wall, and a sandstone-lined well on display in the entrance foyer of Launceston College (Bartlett 1994, p. 124).

The Ross Female Factory

The Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site never existed in isolation. Its construction, occupation, re-occupation, abandonment, demolition, and 20th century reuse all created particular elements of the modern cultural landscape. Archaeological investigations of this female convict site peeled apart the various layers of this landscape, exposing variations of use that occurred, and continue to occur, to create the site that local residents, archaeologists and tourists experience today. In visiting the Ross Factory site, we view the material remains of 19th century disciplinary architecture designed and built by men of the Convict Department, intertwined with residues of insubordination by the female convicts, overlain by later obliteration, avoidance, conservation and interpretation of this place as an authentic experience of Australian female convict history. Two extensive histories (Scripps & Clark 1991; Rayner 1980) and a Conservation Plan (Terry 1998) have presented detailed histories of the Ross Factory. For the purposes of this archaeological report, the occupation history can be segmented into five periods.

An Aboriginal place (pre-1820)

North of St Peter's Pass, the Midlands Graben Valley was occupied by Aboriginal people from the North Midlands Community (Robson 1983, pp. 21–2). This group consisted of at least three (and probably five) bands, or basic social units who '... called themselves by a particular name, and were known by that or other names to other people' (Jones 1971, p. 18). Lands along the upper Macquarie River would have belonged to at least two possible communities: the Tyerremotepanner (also known as the Stoney Creek or Campbell Town people) recorded north of Ross; or an unnamed band associated with lands around the Isis River, west of Ross (Ryan 1996, pp. 29–31). As historian Lyndall Ryan has noted,

Since the North Midlands people suffered European invasion from the end of 1804, insufficient ethnographic information exists about the boundaries of their bands. With five bands of between sixty and eighty in number, the North Midlands population probably reached between three hundred and four hundred. (Ryan 1996, pp. 31–2)

The community subsisted on a variety of foods, including shellfish, riverine and estuarine bird life,

kangaroos, wallabies, possums, and vegetable foods (Jones 1971, p. 96). Since the upper Macquarie River region suffers the lowest Tasmanian annual rainfall, the bands around Ross maintained close relations with surrounding communities, engaging in trade of foods, lithic resources, and ochre (Ryan 1996, p. 32; Robson 1983, p. 22).

During both 1995 and 1997 excavation seasons at the Ross Female Factory site, the presence of Aboriginal peoples within the Ross landscape was represented through the recovery of Aboriginal lithics in disturbed European stratigraphic contexts (Casella 1996b). I conducted no analysis of these Aboriginal artefacts, and the complete assemblage was repatriated to the Tasmanian Aboriginal Community (through the Aboriginal Heritage Unit of the Parks & Wildlife Service and the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council) by July 1997. The presence of the Aboriginal artefacts demonstrates that prior to European occupation of this region, this area was owned and utilized by Aboriginal people. The present Tasmanian Aboriginal community has continued to maintain links and interests in this area. A report by Charlie Beasley, Aboriginal Heritage Officer for the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, follows this report in appendix 7.

A male convict station (1833–47)

The Bridge Gang Period (1833–36): From 1804 to 1829, the Northern Midlands region was increasingly occupied and modified by European colonizers (Robson 1983, p. 102). Although earliest encroachments were exploratory, and unofficial 'squatting' on arable land was discouraged by the colonial government, by 1823 land grants covered the entire course of the Macquarie River (Morgan 1992, p. 19). Many of the named properties around Ross were among the 1 206 Midland grants issued by the Lieutenant-Governor from 1820 to 1823. By 1833 a bridge across the Macquarie River was under construction at Ross. According to Tony Rayner's historical report (Rayner 1980, pp. 5–7), convicts working on the Ross Bridge were housed in four brick and thatched huts. Located on the southern side of the fledgling township, these penal structures were spatially separated from Ross by a high alluvial ridge. As noted in the Ross Factory Conservation Plan, 'This physical dislocation from the town remained throughout the convict station's varied history and provides tangible evidence of the outsider status endured by convicts in colonial society.' (Terry 1998, p. 12). By 1835 these huts no longer appear in town maps.

In the following year, historical descriptions of the station suggest that some modification of the original huts had occurred. The Bridge Gang convicts occupied a single storey brick building with thatched roof, separated into four separate dormitories. The Ross station also contained a mess room, cookhouse, overseer's house, constable's house, two temporary sheds, and a muster

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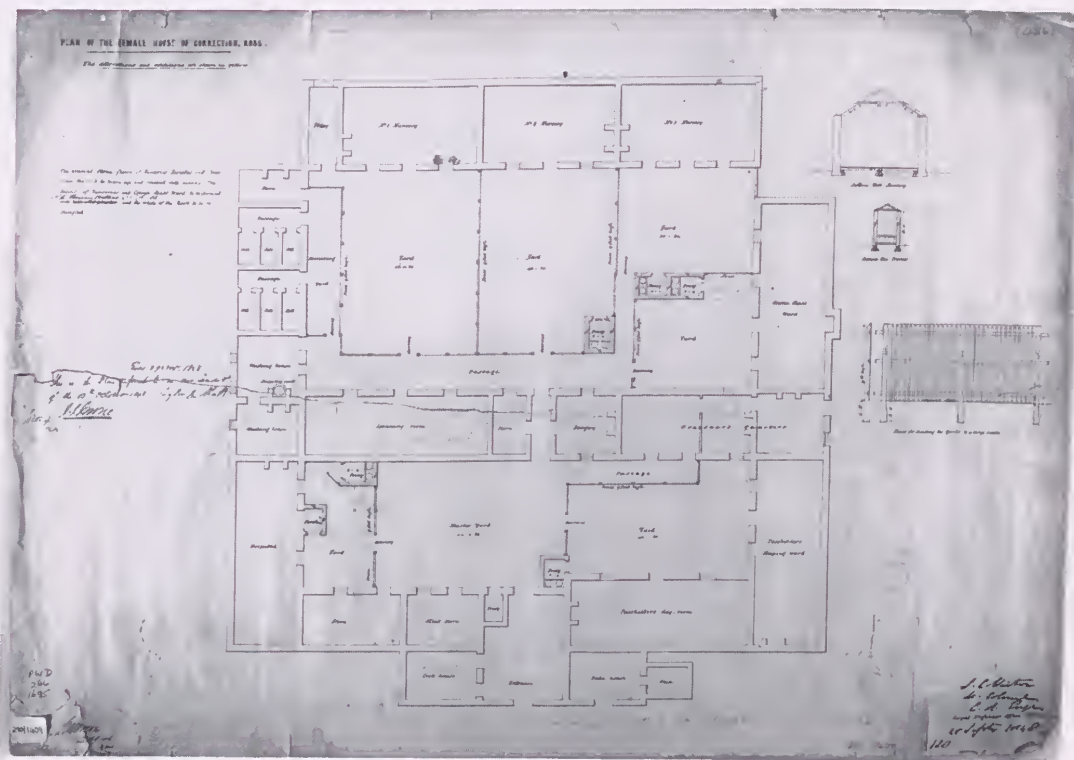


Figure 3. Ross Female Factory 1848 (entrance at bottom) AOT PWD 266/1695.

during excavation are currently under analysis. However, preliminary interpretations suggest these materials were either underfloor deposits related to Female Factory occupation, or post-Factory demolition debris.

The Ross Female Factory (1847–55)

In 1847 J. S. Hampton, Comptroller-General of Convicts, decided to break-up the dwindling road gang station at Ross, and turn the site into a rural Midlands establishment for female convicts and their children. Extensive alterations were made to the site and its structures to properly accommodate the Female Factory. Six solitary cells were constructed within the prison, and cook and bake houses were built in front of the station entrance. A porch or entry room was added to the entrance of the Crime Class Dormitory. Archaeological evidence indicates that a hand-carved sandstone drain feature was added after the addition of this porch structure.

After the women arrived in 1848, significant modifications and additions continued at the site. The Crime and Hiring Class yards were separated by timber boundary fence lines, and original stone floors were removed in the Nurseries, Hospital, and Crime Class. Floors were replaced with wooden boards and joists supported by sandstone piers. Archaeological evidence

presented later in this report suggests floors were similarly replaced in the Hiring Class Dormitory. Night soil privy toilets were added to all Yards of the Establishment (Figure 3). The Nurseries and Crime Class were also provided with timber ceilings and the roofs re-shingled (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 9). Officials of the Governor's Office considered these structural adjustments '... indispensably necessary to render the buildings fit for the accommodation of the women, in regard to their health and proper discipline.' (GO 33/66 10 February 1849, p. 808)

Over 160 panes of glass, each 8 inches x 10 inches, were ordered for the 'Hut to be occupied by the women and children, the two day rooms, and for the Hospital: all of which are without any glass or sashes at present' (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 13). All Factory wards were whitewashed with lime, for 'General Purification'. Although in the other Factories women usually slept in hammocks, at Ross two tons of straw were purchased for filling mattresses, providing padding for the wooden sleeping platforms built into the dormitories. In January 1848, thirty iron bedsteads were purchased for the Hospital.

By 1849, continued outbreaks of disorderly conduct by Factory inmates prompted J. S. Hampton to request further modifications and additions to the Ross

establishment. Proposals funded by the Lieutenant-Governor included:

- * completion of a boundary fence 'to prevent unauthorised communication';
- * ventilation for the existing solitary cells;
- * completion of the house next to the Overseer's Quarters (reference to the misnamed Commandant's Cottage) (see Figure 9);
- * ceilings for the Wash House and Laundry removed and ventilation installed in the roofs;
- * addition of a ceiling for the Hospital;
- * addition of a wooden floor for the Clothing Store;
- * construction of a Clergyman's House inside the Crime Class muster yard;
- * addition of clothes lines between the Factory and the boundary fence;
- * rails for airing bedding.

A series of scandals in 1850 led to a change in administration at the Ross Female Factory. With the hiring of a new Superintendent, Dr E. S. Hall, a number of significant additions were made to the southern half

of the site. In 1851 a Gothic-style stone chapel was opportunistically built atop an alluvial terrace in the south-eastern corner of the Factory. This impressive structure immediately overlooked a row of twelve cells for 'separate treatment', also added that year. A new workroom and wool store was constructed for Crime Class inmates; built against the southern side of the Factory, its expanse of windows faced both the new Chapel and Solitary Cells (Figure 4). A coroner's inquiry into the deaths of infants housed in Factory Nurseries resulted in the addition of a separate Hospital Kitchen and 'Dead House'.

In 1851 the Constable's Room and Office first appear in Factory plans. Located across Portugal Street and facing the Factory entrance, this structure functioned as the guard house and visitor checkpoint (Figure 4). Scripps and Clark suggest that this hut was also occupied by male convict gardeners until they were moved to the 1820s-era military barracks in the centre of Ross township (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 12). By the end of 1852 no further additions or modifications of Factory structures were documented.

With the cessation of the Transportation system in 1853, the Convict Department confirmed closure of the Ross Female Factory in late 1854. The eleven remaining inmates were

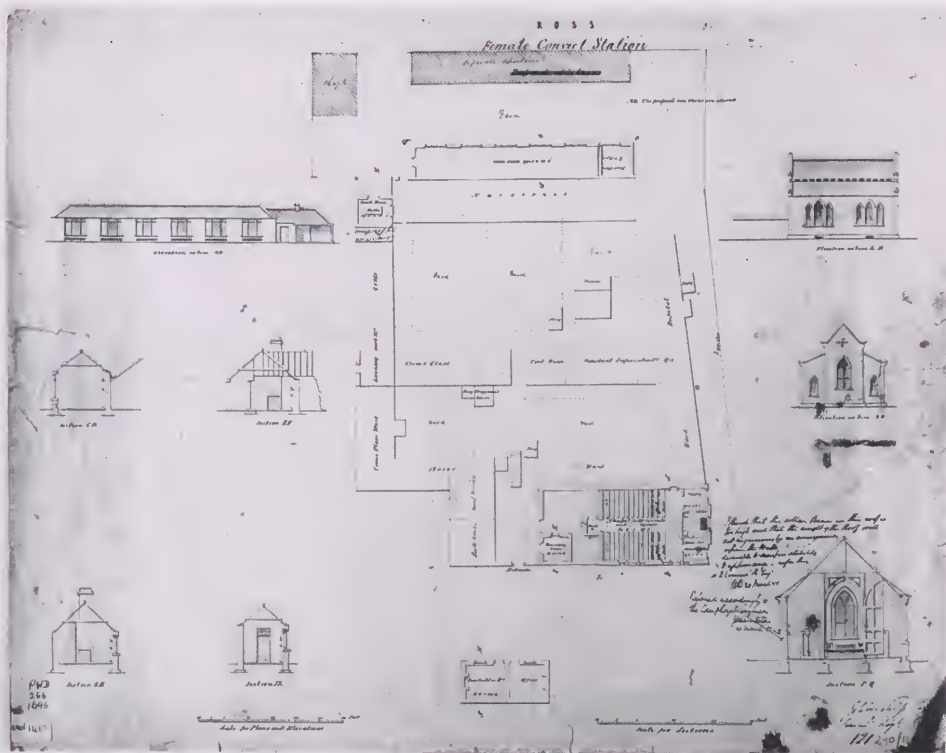


Figure 4. Ross Female Factory c. 1851 (entrance at bottom) AOT PWD 266/1696.

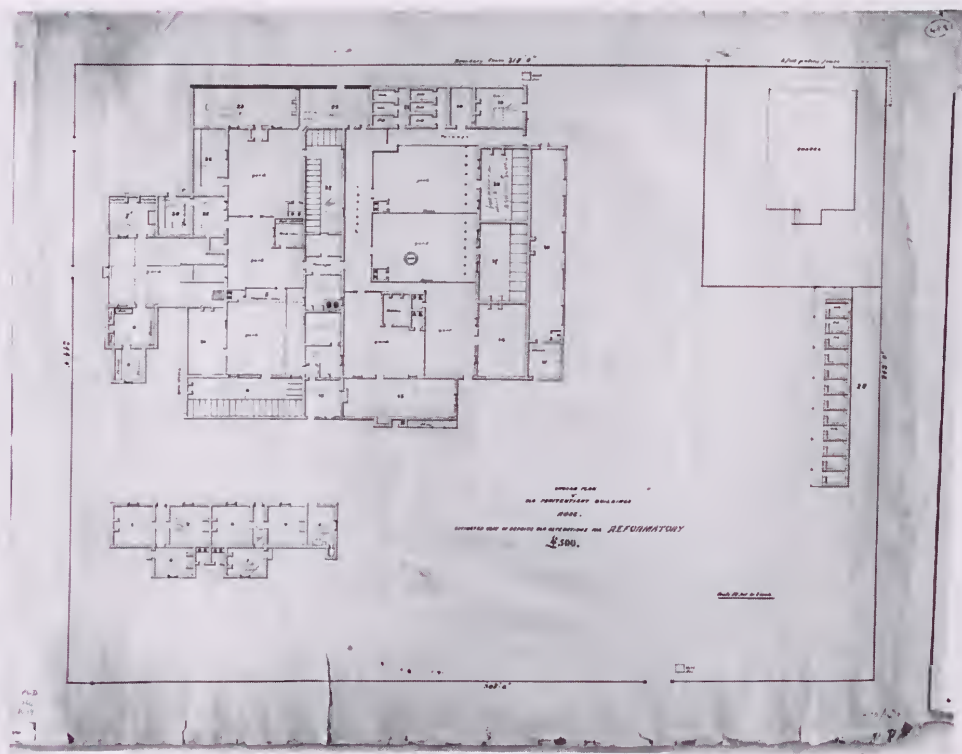


Figure 5. Ross Establishment c. 1862 (entrance at left) AOT PWD 266/1699.

transferred to other institutions before 31 January 1855, and all portable furniture was sold.

A police station and railroad construction site (1855–1938)

Buildings vacated by the Convict Department transferred to the Colonial Government. The Roman Catholic Church rented the Factory Chapel to provide services for the local community (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 28). Presumably, their occupation ceased in 1868 with completion of a large stone Roman Catholic Church on the corner of Badajos and Church Streets. This site may have seemed more appropriate, located on the protected side of the alluvial plain, dissociated from the convict station, and situated prominently within the developing township.

On 31 January 1855 management of the Factory site (other than the Chapel) was handed over to the Police Department. However, this government department had little interest in the property, leasing-out the undeveloped blocks for sheep grazing, and leaving Factory buildings unoccupied but supervised by a caretaker (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 58).

By 1862 the site was briefly considered for the establishment of a Boy's Reformatory. A plan of repairs and modifications for the deteriorated Factory buildings was drawn (Figure 5). Because of colonial politics, the plan was never realized, and a different site was chosen for the Boy's Reformatory (Brown 1972, p. 148).

In 1873 representatives of the Main Line Railway were granted permission to use the abandoned Factory buildings, now recorded as 'fast decaying for want of attention . . .' (JPP 1873, no. 25, p. 18). Archaeological evidence of their industrial use of the Crime Class region was recovered from contexts that stratigraphically overlaid context 1015, as will be presented below.

According to an 1879 property survey (Figure 6), structures in the south-eastern corner of the original Female Factory had been demolished, including the Wash House, the Dead House, a set of Solitary Cells, and most significantly, part of the Crime Class currently under archaeological investigation. During this period, the site was unofficially reserved for Ross Municipal purposes, the 'Commandant's Cottage' occupied by Mr John Nickolson (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 61). It is uncertain whether John Nickolson was a policeman, site caretaker, or rental tenant.

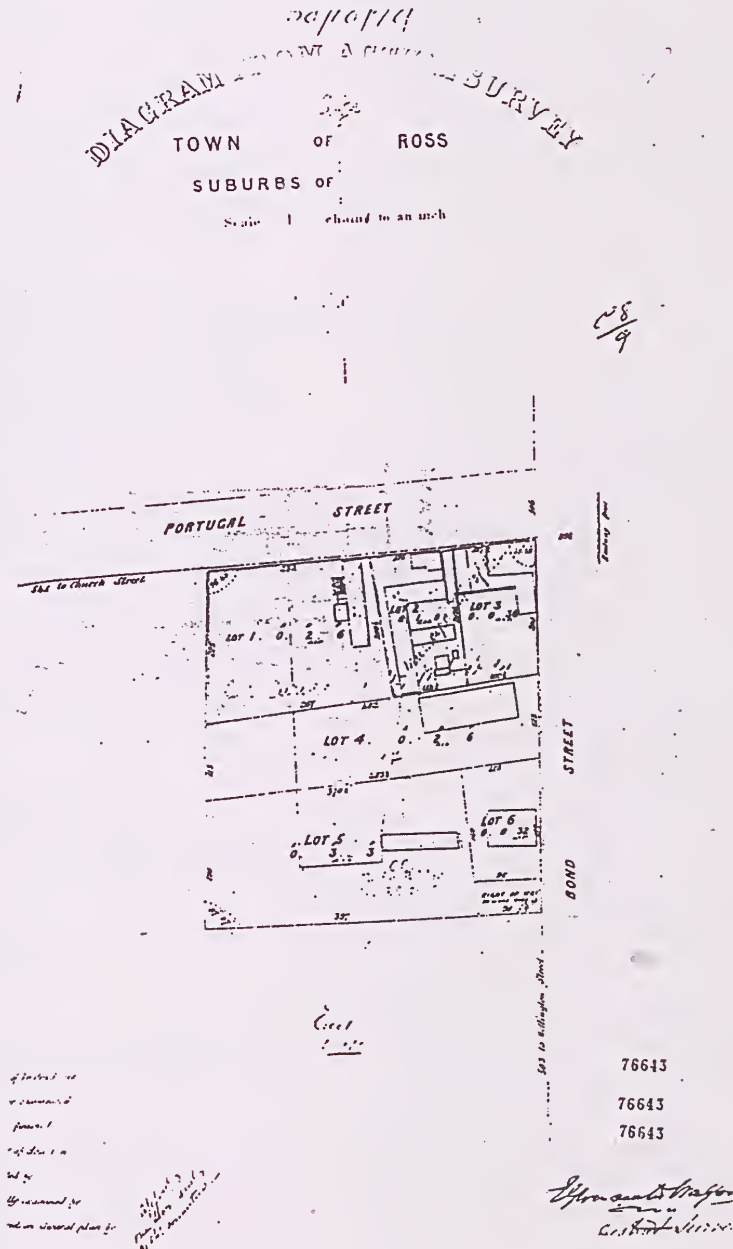


Figure 6. Ross Establishment 1879. Scripps & Clark 1991, Plan 9 (entrance at top).

In December 1895 alterations and additions were made to the 'Commandant's Cottage', using sandstone recycled from remaining Factory buildings, a construction project completed in mid-1897 (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 61). Although this is the only documented recycling event, oral history and general common sense suggest that structural remains of the Female Factory survive recycled throughout the built environment of Ross township. No further documentary or survey images exist for the Factory convict structures. The 'Commandant's Cottage' remained occupied by the Police Department through to 1938, the house wired for electricity sometime during that period (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 62).

The Knowles' property (1938–80)

According to historian Lindy Scripps,

From 1938 to 1974 the [Commandant's Cottage] was occupied by a private tenant, Mr Leslie Knowles, who paid his monthly rent of one pound 12 shillings to the local police trooper. Mr Knowles also rented the rest of the factory site for grazing sheep. (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 62)

In 1974 Mr Leslie Knowles died, and his son (Mr M. J. Knowles) applied for permission to assume tenancy, or purchase the property. The Lands Department considered the cottage too poorly maintained to support occupation, and Mr M. J. Knowles surrendered his tenancy. He continued to graze cows, pigs and sheep over the property through to 1980, when it was claimed by the National Parks and Wildlife Service. It is currently administered through the Cultural Heritage Branch of the Department of Primary Industries, Water and Environment (DPIWE), Tasmania.

During the 1995 season of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, Mr M. J. Knowles gave me a site tour, sharing information on the modifications built during his family's occupation. His oral history, supported by my archaeological observations, suggested that most subsurface impacts occurred within the immediate surrounds of the 'Commandant's Cottage', then functioning as the Knowles' farmhouse. These farm-related improvements primarily included the construction of a horse barn and various sheds west of the cottage, an area of the site unused by the Female Factory, according to documentary evidence. Mr M. J. Knowles also mentioned his family dumping domestic garbage into stone wall remains of the Hiring Class Day Room, and grazing cows over the Crime and Hiring Class areas of the Female Factory. The portion of the Crime Class Dormitory sampled during 1995 excavations seems to have held special significance as a cricket field for the Knowles' boys, although minimal subsurface impact resulted from this particular activity. In summary, 20th century occupation of the site seems to have exerted limited impact on Female Factory related archaeological deposits.

Chapter 4: The Ross Factory Archaeology Project

Overview

Building on previous archival research and historical reports completed through the Parks and Wildlife Service of Tasmania (Rayner 1980; Scripps & Clark 1991), the Ross Factory Archaeology Project was developed to examine archaeological remains of the Ross Female Factory Historic Site. Although these previous documentary studies provided essential information on social interactions within the penal institution, many significant aspects of the material construction, fabric and daily use of the Factory remained unknown. In order to study everyday expressions of gender identity and power negotiations, my archaeological research first focused on both the nature and transformations of architectural remains within the Factory. This research theme considered the construction and continual re-assertion of institutional discipline through the built environment of the prison. Secondly, this research focused on reciprocal expressions of female convict insubordination through the artefacts related to the Factory occupation period. I examined the presence and distribution of forbidden materials throughout the penal site to consider alternate spatial uses of the prison by female inmates. This data was then juxtaposed with data from historical sources to contextually analyze the gendered meanings those objects may have conveyed within the mid-19th century. Thus, the original research topics specifically selected for examination of the Ross Factory historic site included:

- 1) The construction fabrics used for various Factory buildings/foundations;
- 2) Methods of flooring or paving used in construction of inmate yards and dormitories;
- 3) The presence and fabric of an entrance porch added to the Crime Class Dormitory;
- 4) The process of selective recycling of construction materials from the Factory after abandonment;
- 5) Possession of personal or illicit materials within dormitories;
- 6) Material evidence for alcohol trade/consumption;
- 7) Material evidence for tobacco trade/consumption;
- 8) Material evidence for trade/use of non-uniform clothing;
- 9) Material evidence for food barter within dormitories.

Data gathered from the first four topics provided information on the layout and physical nature of the prison during the Factory occupation period. This data allowed me to interpret the cultural landscapes of social domination, institutionalization, and penal incarceration experienced by the female convicts. Questions five through nine provided data on the presence and comparative distribution of regulated artefactual materials throughout wards of the prison. With this data I examined the everyday occupation and use of this penal landscape by female convicts. This evidence helped illuminate the nature of daily transgressions of the penal regulations, physical boundaries, and social roles imposed upon female inmates. Thus, the Ross Factory Archaeology Project was designed to examine reciprocity between penal domination (expressed through architectural landscape features) and inmate resistance (expressed through artefactual evidence for covert or illicit use of the institution). Detailed presentations and interpretations of this data formed the basis of my doctoral dissertation (Casella 1999a, 2000b, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). This section presents field data and stratigraphic interpretations generated through archaeological fieldwork. A functional analysis of the artefactual materials recovered from convict-related contexts follows in Chapter 5 of this volume.

1995: The Preliminary Season

The Ross Factory Archaeology Project consisted of two excavation seasons, and fourteen months of laboratory work on the recovered artefactual assemblage. During November 1995 a digital topographic survey was conducted on the Ross Factory historic site. The non-invasive survey was directed in conjunction with the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies (Centre for Spatial Information Science) at the University of Tasmania (Figure 7). Systematically recording local geophysical features, this survey demonstrated a high correspondence between topographic features on the current landscape, and structures documented in 19th century plans of the Factory (Figure 5). This spatial correlation suggested the presence of intact remains of subsurface Factory architectural features. Results from this topographic survey were particularly useful for locating the Crime Class and Hiring Class dormitories within the Main Compound of the prison. This data guided the location of excavation trenches for the following research stages. The topographic map also presented the possibility that prison architects from the Convict Department may have made opportunistic use of the naturally undulating local alluvial terraces. Whether or not it was consciously intentional, they appear to have spatially reinforced relationships of hierarchical social status between inmates and staff by strategically locating Factory structures at higher and lower site elevations within the local landscape. Architectural, archaeological and documentary evidence of and for this geographic dynamic was presented in Chapter 6 of my doctoral dissertation (Casella 1999a, 2001c).

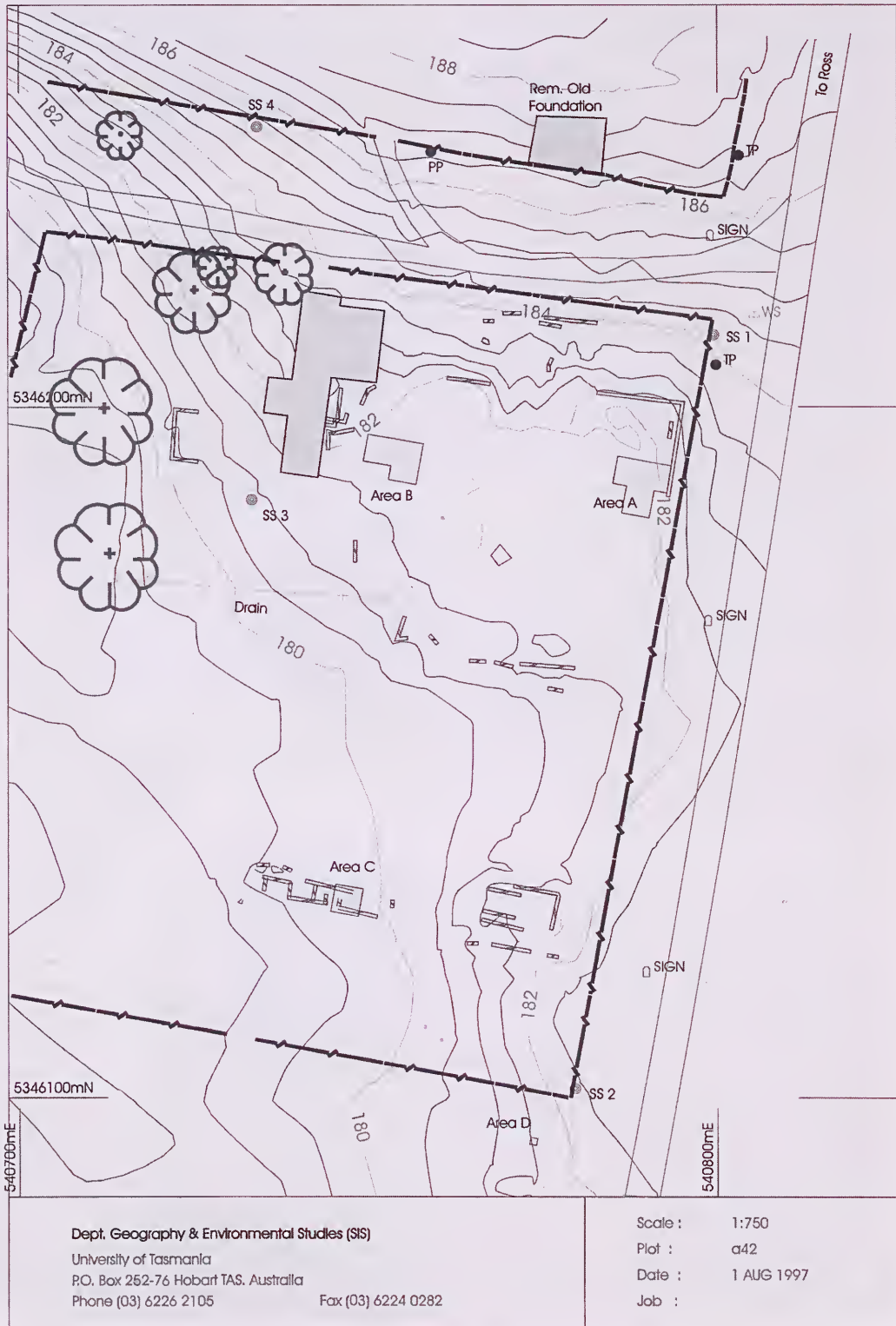
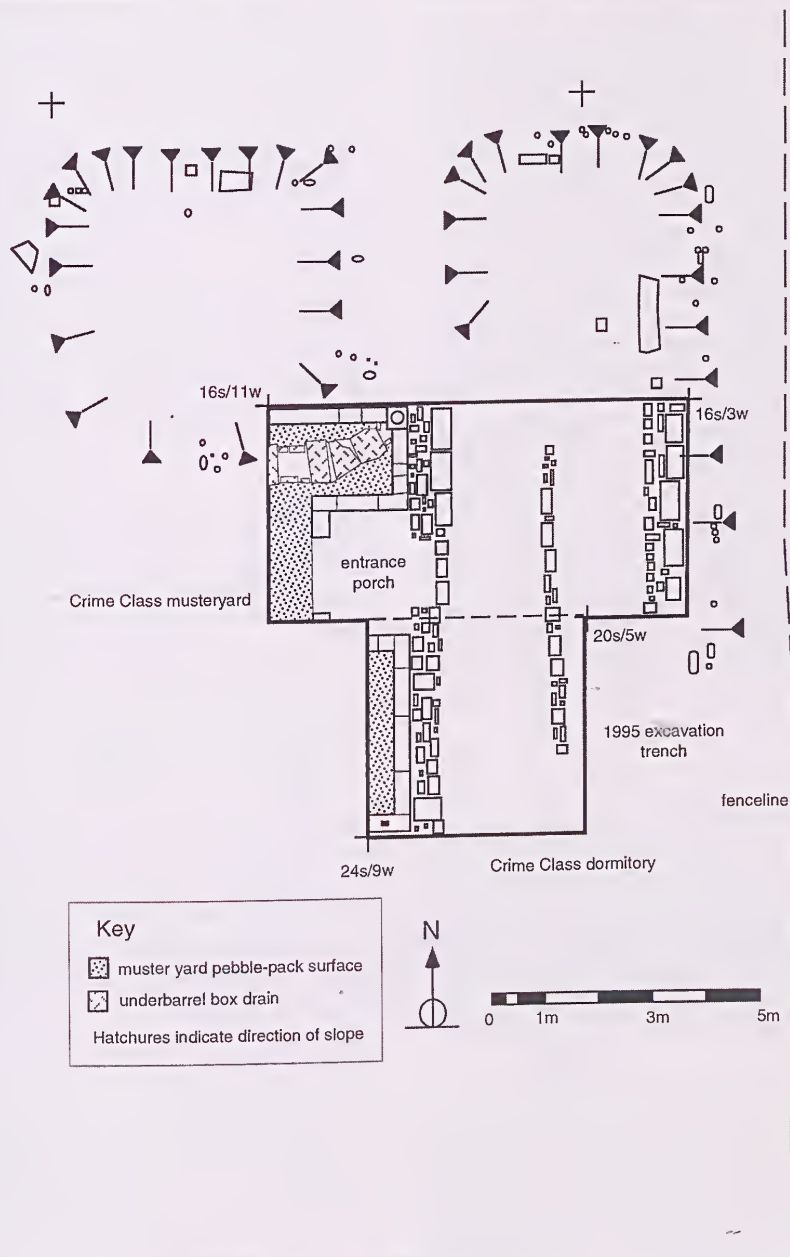


Figure 7. Topographic survey map of Ross Factory site.

Commencing on 8 December 1995, the 4-week preliminary excavation season opened a 4 square metre trench in the Crime Class region of the Ross Factory site (Figure 8). In accordance with the permit requirements, at the close of this first season the excavation trench was backfilled and the grass turf replaced. Approximately thirty volunteers participated in this preliminary field season.

The 1995 season of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project produced three significant results. Firstly, a

preliminary stratigraphic sequence was established for the Crime Class ward. As will be presented in a later discussion of specific results from the excavations, this stratigraphic sequence consisted of six phases and included a recognizable series of Female Factory depositions overlain by later post-Factory demolition events. The depth and clarity of these depositional phases might have been influenced by the local environment, specifically the high rate of alluvial deposition from annual floods of the Macquarie River.



Substantial architectural and artefactual remains of the Ross Female Factory were also discovered. Foundations of the original Crime Class dormitory, floorboard supports and entrance porch suggested multiple building sequences. The preliminary test trench also uncovered the presence of a carefully engineered course of carved sandstone drain, a feature never documented in Factory construction or sanitation records. Underfloor deposits suggested the presence of illicit materials such as non-uniform buttons, alcohol bottle fragments, and kaolin tobacco pipes.

Finally, only one of the two wells currently present at the Factory site appeared to be related to convict era occupation. Through a combination of surface erosion and vandalism, the upper layers of dirt had been removed from both well features. While the northern well (located within the Crime Class) did not appear to have any lining, the southern well was lined with handcut blocks of sandstone. In 1850 a windlass was installed at the head of the southern well to raise the water (AOT CO 280/700/269), and an 1862 historic plan of the structures remaining at the Factory site documented the location of this southern well (Figure 5). Beyond the mention of two wells in La Trobe's 1847 report on Probation Stations (Scripps & Clark 1991), no other historical evidence suggested the northern well was contemporary with convict era use of the site.

1997: The Second Season

During the summer of 1997 a further eight weeks of excavation was conducted at the Ross Factory Historic Site. From 6 January through 3 March, 104 square metres were excavated over three areas of the site: the Crime Class, the Hiring Class, and the Solitary Cells (Figure 7). These trenches investigated archaeological

remains from the three different probationary states experienced by female convicts at Ross. Excavation and recording methods developed for the 1995 season continued to be used during the second season. For field management purposes, each excavation area was further subdivided into numbered trenches that varied in size from 1 square metre test pits to 4 square metre quads. Over the eight weeks, approximately eighty-five individuals participated in the excavation project, including local community volunteers, Tasmanian school teachers, avocational archaeologists, Aboriginal Heritage Officers, and students from numerous Australian universities. In accordance with the permit obligations, by 3 March 1997 all excavated areas were backfilled and undergoing natural revegetation.

From 31 May to 2 June 1997 a 1 square metre trench was dug outside the boundary of the Ross Factory Historic Site (Figure 7). The purpose of this trench was to record the natural stratigraphic profile of the local alluvial ridge system, to ultimately enable comparisons with the stratigraphy of heavily culturally impacted deposits within the Factory trenches. The location of Area D was chosen because it was outside the known boundary of the Female Factory, yet situated within the same alluvial ridge at approximately the same topographic elevation as the main prison compound. Results from Area D will be presented later in this report.

During 1997 Paul Digney, an Honours student in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies (SIS), University of Tasmania, completed a photogrammetrical study of the Ross Cottage (Figure 9). Built in 1850 for the accommodation of Factory staff, this sandstone building remains the only architecturally-intact structure at the Ross Factory site. It currently

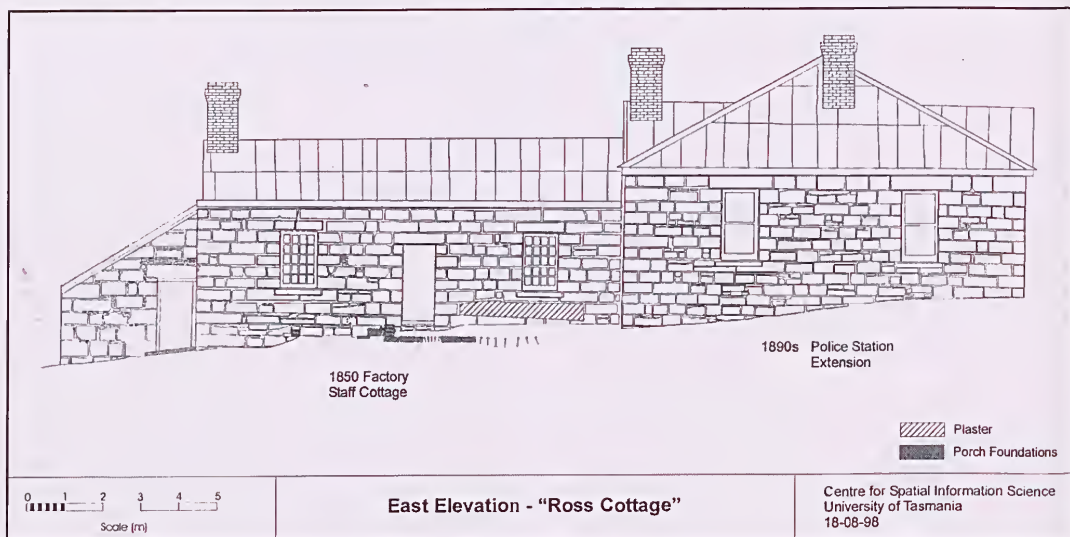


Figure 9. East Elevation—'Ross Cottage'.

houses an interpretation display developed by the Cultural Heritage Branch (DPIWE). This self-guided display is open for visitors daily.

Archaeological Excavation Methods

Archaeological information recovered at the Ross Female Factory site was recorded through the Harris Matrix. According to this method, every part of the site is defined as a 'context' and is assigned an individual number (Harris 1979; Davies 1987, 1993). Contexts can be layers of soil, architectural features, natural deposits, animal disturbances, soil stains, or intrusive holes. These elements constitute a 'sequence of the deposition of strata or the creation of feature interfaces on a site through the course of time' (Harris 1979, p. 86). The stratigraphic relationship of the contexts, or their spatial positions as they accumulated on top of each other through time, can be symbolically represented as a flow chart, or 'matrix' (**Figure 10**). This flow chart represents archaeological interpretations of the history of this site—or how the various elements of the site came to be there, and how they changed while there. The 'matrices' included within this report have been modified to also provide information on the spatial location of the archaeological contexts relative to the Female Factory buildings represented in historic plans. To assist with spatial analysis the stratigraphic matrices were subdivided as follows:

- 1) Area A: Interior and Exterior of the Crime Class Dormitory western foundation wall;
- 2) Area B: Western exterior of the Hiring Class Dormitory, Interior of the Hiring Class Dormitory, Eastern exterior of the Hiring Class Dormitory, and the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters;
- 3) Northern exterior of the Solitary Cells, Western Cell, Central Cell, Eastern Cell, and Southern exterior of the Solitary Cells.

With this new spatial presentation format, information on the stratigraphic relationships between elements of the site was not altered. Within this volume, each archaeological 'context' will be referred to by its unique four-digit identification number. Data on each context has been organized into a summary tabular format (**Appendices 3–6**).

Vertical and horizontal spatial controls were maintained throughout the Ross Factory Archaeology Project. With assistance from the Department of Geography and Spatial Information Sciences, University of Tasmania, a site grid was established through a series of permanent survey marks mounted during the topographic site survey. Satellite readings were taken at the site datum point, located in the extreme north-eastern corner of the site (**Figure 1**). By linking the site datum to the Australian Height Datum, these readings enabled the

calculation of reduced levels in metres above sea level.

Dirt removed from the site was screened through both 5 millimetre and 2.5 millimetre mesh sieves. Field crews sieved all soil removed during excavations, using a combination of wet and dry sieving, depending on the texture and saturation of the soil matrix. Sieving proved to be a valuable method at the Ross site, ensuring a high recovery rate for small finds such as copper-alloy sewing pins, glass beads, slate pencil fragments, and Aboriginal lithic flakes.

During excavation, field crews systematically recorded a series of data on each stratigraphic element. Provenance data and detailed visual characteristics of each stratigraphic context were recorded through photography and scaled drawings. Both colour slides and black and white prints were taken for every context. Two different scales were employed to generate the measured drawings. All single context horizontal plans were drawn at a 1:20 scale. Vertical profiles of trench and baulk edges were drawn at a 1:10 scale to preserve the finer spatial details of the local stratigraphic sequence. Excavation crew chiefs took field readings to determine the colour and pH of dirt contexts. Determination of soil colour was based on comparison with the Munsell Soil Color Chart (1994 Revised Edition). The Inoculo Laboratories Field pH Kit Field measurements was used to determine relative degrees of acidity/alkalinity in soils. Crew chiefs also collected samples of each dirt matrix. These soil samples are included in the Ross Collection, now permanently curated by the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery (Launceston, Tasmania). Management of recovered artefacts will be presented within Chapter 5 of this volume. In accordance with permit requirements, at the close of both excavation seasons, we backfilled all trenches, and replaced the grass turf.

Area A: The Crime Class

Area A contained physical remains of the Crime Class Dormitory and muster yard. Opened during both the 1995 and 1997 seasons, a total of 48 square metres was excavated by the close of the second field season. Eight distinct periods could be sequenced from the stratigraphic matrix of Area A (**Figure 10 & Appendix 3**). These archaeological deposits and features reflected male convict, female convict and post-convict periods of site occupation.

Natural (pre-1833)

Excavation trenches within Area A revealed a base stratum of sterile yellow-orange clay (1025). This layer was also found in Areas B (2015) and D (4005), at roughly the same depth below surface level. In all three areas, the upper 2 centimetres of excavated soil were wet sieved through 5 millimetre and 2.5-millimetre mesh to test for the presence of cultural materials. Very few

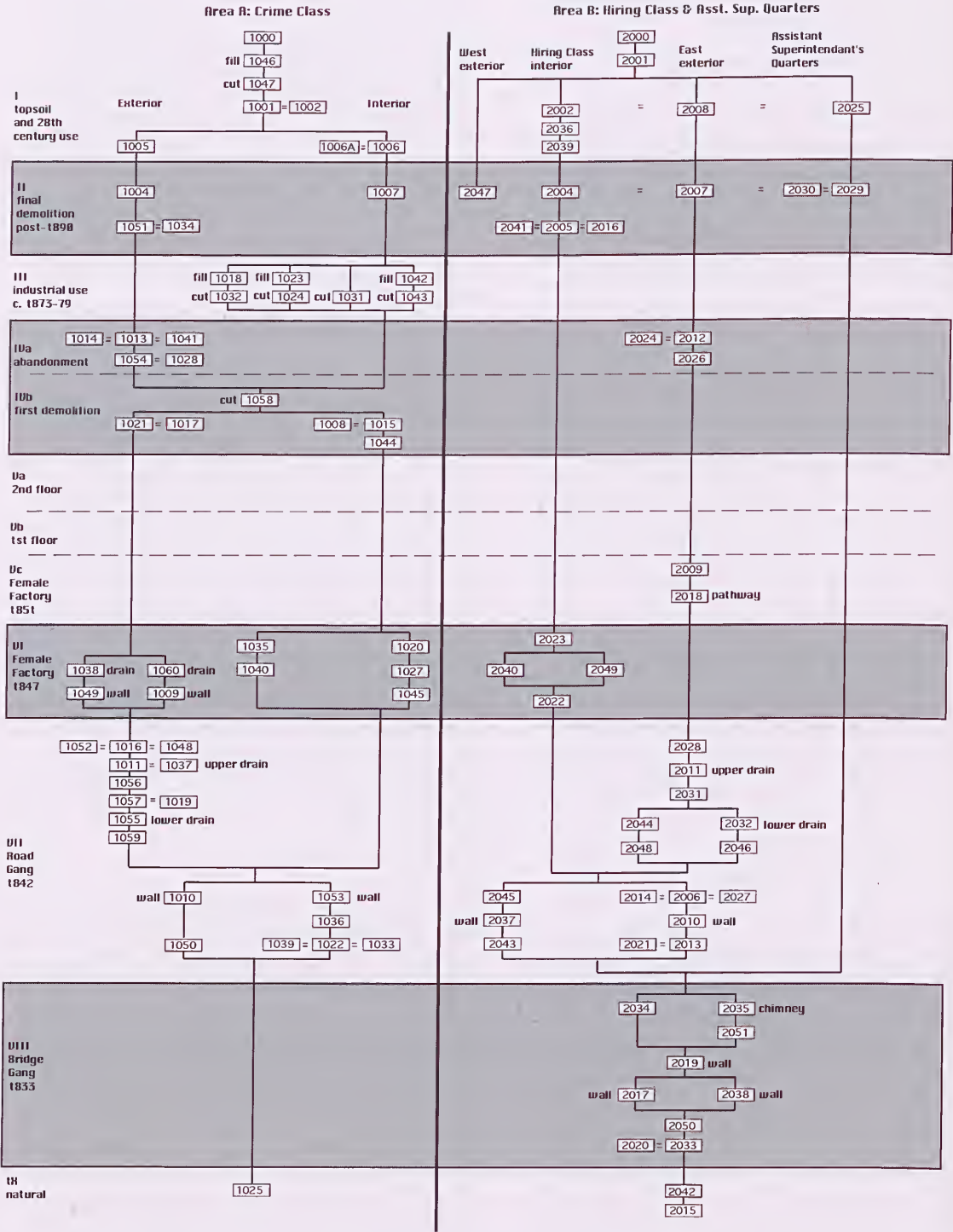


Figure 10. RFAP Harris Matrix.

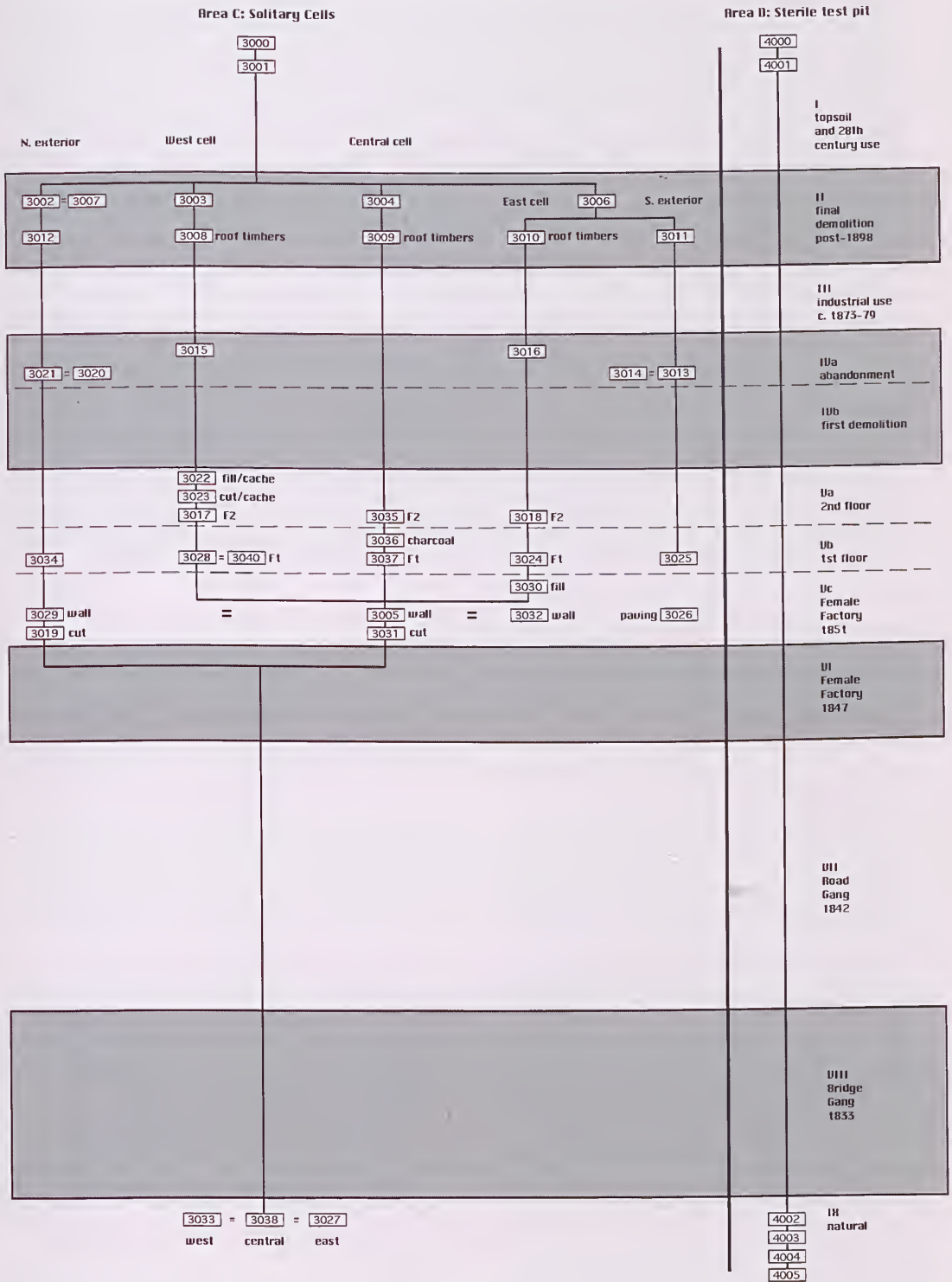




Figure 11. Area A: Overhead photograph of excavation trenches, east facing.

European and no Aboriginal artefacts were recovered from this virtually sterile layer.

The Road Gang Period (1842–47)

Although historic sources document an 1833–36 period of site use by male convicts, archaeological remains of this occupation were not located within Area A. The later 1840s period of male convict occupation was archaeologically present. Historical sources document a major 1841–2 works program at the Ross site (Rayner 1980, p. 8), with the main quadrangle of sandstone buildings constructed to accommodate male convicts laying the Hobart to Launceston road (**Figure 2**). Sandstone wall foundations recorded in Area A (1010 & 1053) related to this Road Gang occupation period. Approximately 90 centimetres wide and 50 centimetres high, these walls ran along a north–south axis through the excavation trench, and probably formed the inner and outer walls of the Crime Class Dormitory structure during the Female Factory period (**Figure 11**). Constructed of roughly cut sandstone bonded with lime mortar, these two structural features also contained stone packing to even out the irregularly shaped stone blocks. Most Aboriginal lithic artefacts recovered during the Ross Factory Archaeology Project appeared to have been recycled into this rubble pack (Casella 1996b). High frequencies of lime-washed mortar recovered from both interior and exterior sides of the foundation walls supported documentary accounts of dormitory

whitewashing (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 13).

Exterior to the structure, a sandstone drain system was unearthed. No mention of this drain system was found in any historic documents or plans. The drains consisted of two parts: an upper spoon drain which directed ground water to a carved sandstone drain bowl (**Figure 8**), and a subsurface underbarrel box drain (1055). This latter feature directly cut (1059) into the natural sterile soil (1025). The underbarrel box was constructed of two different materials. Red handmade bricks formed the base, and cut and finished sandstone slabs lined the walls. Capped with roughly finished blocks of sandstone, the box barrel was approximately 25 centimetres deep. It drained westwards, away from the Dormitory structure and towards the centre of the Station compound. A thin layer of silt (1056) lay between the box drain cap stones and the pebble-pack courtyard flooring (1016).

The upper spoon drain was supported and levelled by a layer of irregularly shaped small, flat sandstone blocks packed below (1057) and against (1019) segments of the upper drain. As will be discussed later in this report, the upper spoon drain probably experienced modification during construction works in late 1847. However, the original sections of the upper drain (1011 & 1037) oriented along a north–south axis immediately adjacent to the western wall of the Dormitory, and turned at right angles to run along the exteriors of unexcavated

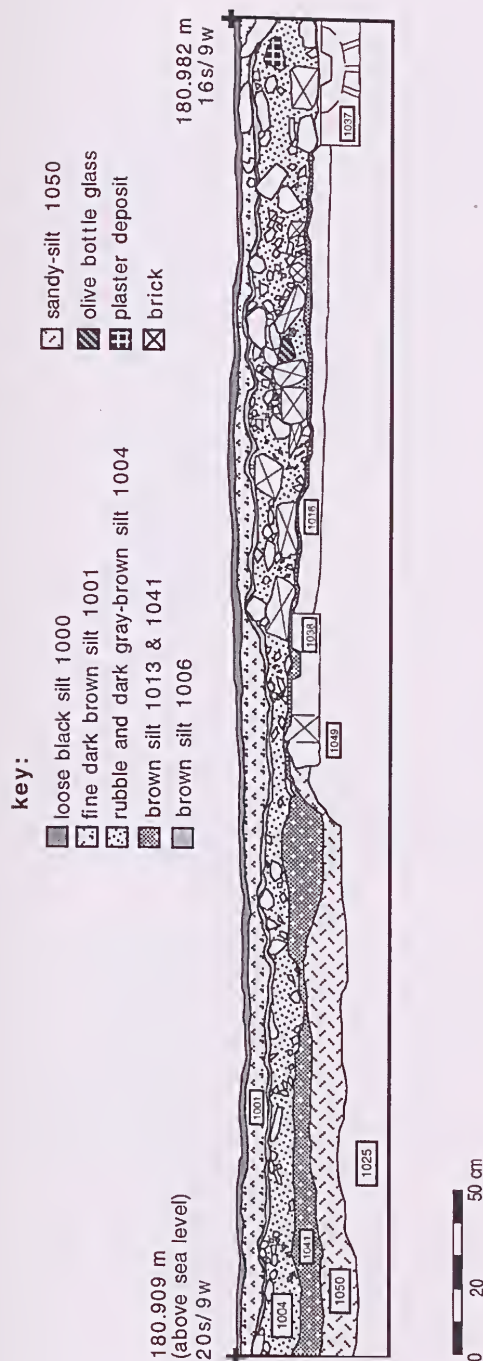


Figure 12.
Area A: Crime Class Dormitory, exterior profile.

structures to the north and south of the muster yard (Figure 11). The spoon drain demonstrated evidence of extensive manual labour. Each hand-carved segment appeared to be individually fitted. Hand drill marks were easily visible throughout the bevelled interior of the drain. Thin incisions had been feathered along the side of the drain closest to foundation walls, possibly providing a roughened surface for some water-proofing damp course of fabric or plaster. Levels taken during excavation indicated that drain contents were channelled to both the northern drain bowl, and to a hole carved in the southernmost segment of spoon drain. The position and shape of this carved hole suggested that it originally articulated to a roof gutter down pipe. Both the drain bowl and the drain pipe hole directed water into the underbarrel box drain.

Remains of the original muster yard were also recorded exterior to the Dormitory, at an average depth of 20.7 centimetres below surface level. This feature (1016, 1052 & 1048) consisted of highly compacted dirt, pebbles and cobbles. Originally believed to be discontinuous, contexts 1016 and 1052 were later recognized as the same courtyard flooring feature. Although it was part of the same male convict period courtyard paving, context 1048 was subdivided from 1016/1052 because it lay under an entrance porch feature related to the later Factory occupation period (as discussed below). The majority of 1016/1052 was left unexcavated in order to retain the relatively intact courtyard feature for future public interpretation projects at the site (Figure 12). In the northern exterior, a sample of 1016 was removed to uncover the underbarrel of the sandstone drain. Within this sample area, 1016 was approximately 5 centimetres thick.

The Female Factory Period (1847–55)

In 1847 and 1848 significant architectural modifications occurred at the Ross site. As discussed earlier in this report, these additions were intended to adapt the establishment for accommodation of female convicts (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 9; Terry 1998, p. 16). Archaeological evidence of two such modifications were recovered from Area A excavations.

The 1848 plan of alterations at the Ross Factory includes the addition of an entrance porch to the western exterior facing of the Crime Class Dormitory. Archaeologically, remains of this porch structure could be interpreted from two lines of architectural evidence (Figures 8 & 11). Two brick and sandstone foundations of the porch structure were revealed (1009 & 1049), abutting the Crime Class Dormitory and oriented along an east–west axis. Their locations suggest the dimensions of the rectangular entrance porch were approximately 1.80 metres long (north–south) and 1.34 metres wide (east–west). Remains of the earlier pebble-pack courtyard underlay the porch floor (1048). Secondly, the upper spoon drain showed evidence of

modification related to installation of the entrance porch. Two northern sections of the sandstone drain had been recycled, as they were significantly shorter than all other segments, demonstrated rough cut marks at both ends, and appeared ill-fitted to the otherwise carefully engineered drain feature. Furthermore, segment 1038 did not conjoin with 1037; it instead ran perpendicular to the recycled sections, along the exterior of the northern porch foundation (1049), and appeared to drain directly into Crime Class Dormitory wall (1010). In the southern half of the upper spoon drain, a right angle turn was carved directly into the sandstone, suggesting this drain segment (1060) had been fitted after addition of the entrance porch.

The second major structural modification present in the archaeological record was situated on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory. During the male convict periods of site occupation, historic documents record that dormitory structures were floored with cut sandstone (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 9). After female convicts were received at the Ross Female Factory in 1848, the original stone floors were removed and replaced with wooden boards (CO 280/690/284 December 1848). Archaeological evidence for this reflooring event was recovered in the form of three sandstone support piers, two abutting the dormitory foundation walls, and one midway through the structure (Figure 8). In the northern half of Area A, excavation revealed a construction trench (1045) cut into the sterile clay bed (1025), which contained the middle joist support wall (1027). Although no sandstone flagging remained in situ from the male convict occupation period, four large sandstone blocks (1040) appeared to have been reused as joist supports along the northern end of the western dormitory foundation wall (1010) (Figure 11). The first stone had been irregularly pecked with rough circular holes, marks which might have been the result of efforts to nail floorboards directly into the sandstone, rather than through a wooden joist beam. These blocks did not directly articulate with the dormitory wall (1010); a gap of approximately 14 centimetres separated the two features. Evidence of similarly substandard construction methods is common on convict-built features; this poor workmanship may reflect convict resistance to forced labour projects (Maxwell-Stewart 1995, p. 110; Nicholas 1988; Kerr 1988), or simply a lack of skill on the part of these particular convict workers.

The 1848 extraction of dormitory floor flagstones appeared to be accompanied by the removal of artefactual debris associated with the earlier male convict period occupation of the structure. With the subsequent installation of wooden floorboards for the accommodation of female convicts, all accumulated underfloor deposits related directly to female convict occupation of the Crime Class Dormitory. This modification of dormitory floors created unique archaeological conditions for preservation of material culture specifically related to female convicts.

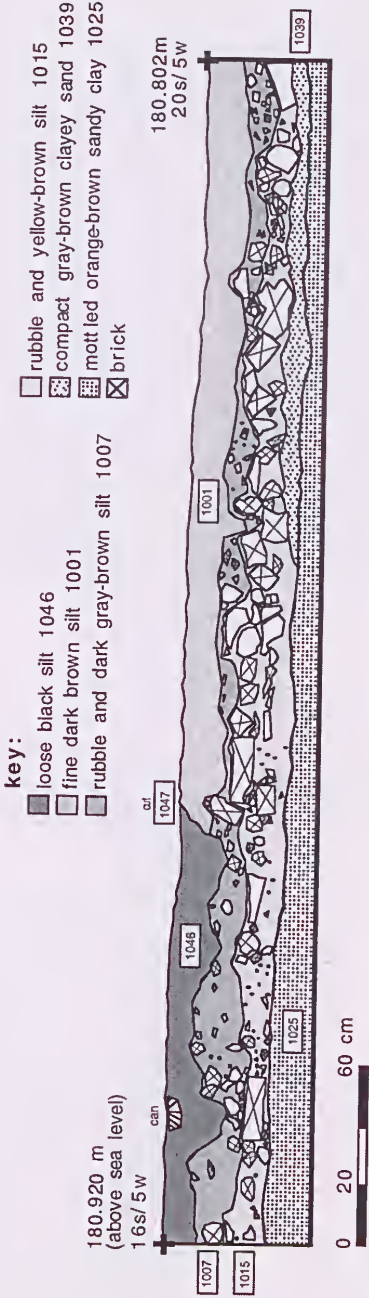


Figure 13. Area A: Crime Class Dormitory, interior profile.

These Female Factory period artefacts were recovered from five specific contexts on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory. Named 1022 during the 1995 season, context 1039 consisted of a light-coloured greyish yellow-brown sandy layer immediately overlaying the sterile clay bed (1025) (**Figure 13**). This context formed an 'interface' between the cultural and natural horizons, and contained a large amount of European artefacts that appear to relate to the Factory period. Context 1039 was a likely remnant of the natural soil profile, which had been significantly disturbed during installation of the floorboards in 1848. Dirt consists of three types of sediment (silt, clay and sand), each of which has a different average weight. Through the soil weathering process, over long periods of time, the sediments will naturally settle in layers by weight (Hassan 1978; Stein & Farrand 1985; Stein & Linse 1993). It is possible that 1039 developed as a result of that process of 'soil formation'. Since 1039 was a silty-sand, its relative weight was lighter than the clay of 1025. Differences between the two contexts could have resulted from alluvial weathering, with the heavier clay sediments settling below 1039 to form the clay bed 1025, leaving the lighter silts and sands in the upper context. If the 1842 sandstone flags were laid into 1039, their removal during 1848 possibly included disturbance and partial removal of that layer. Thus, only a thin vestige of 1039 overlay the sterile clay bed, and this remnant layer contained material residues of Factory Period occupation of the Dormitory. On the exterior of the structure, a very similar sandy silt layer was recorded under the 1841 courtyard paving (1048). Identified as context 1050, this layer was situated underneath the Factory Period entrance porch structure, and contained artefacts related to both the male and female convict occupation periods of the site.

Within the 1995 trench of Area A, a lens of silty clay (1033) overlay the 1022/1039 sand layer. It appeared to be packed around the mid-Dormitory joist support wall (1027), and contained minimal convict-related artefacts. Following advice from Charlie Beasley, the Aboriginal Heritage Officer with the Forest Practices Unit who was participating in excavations at Ross as part of his training program, we ceased excavation of this context after two unusually large potential Aboriginal lithic artefacts were recovered (Casella 1996b).

Inside the 14 centimetre wide gap between the western Dormitory wall foundation (1010) and the floorboard support sandstone blocks (1040), two layers of silty soil deposit were recorded (1035 & 1036). Although the bottom layer (1036) was predominantly silt, it also possessed a noticeable sand content. It appeared very similar in colour and texture to the 1022/1039 underfloor deposit. Since 1036 underlay 1040, and contained very few European artefacts, it was interpreted as another 'interface' layer supporting the recycled 1842 sandstone floor flags. Context 1036 gradually shaded into 1035, a darker silty soil that overlay the lower

context. 1035 contained European artefacts, and appeared to relate to the Factory Period. If the sandstone blocks of 1040 were recycled and repositioned during the installation of wooden floors in 1848, the 14 centimetre wide gap would have been formed then, and the build-up of underfloor deposit 1035 would have occurred during Factory occupation of the Dormitory.

Context 1020 was a non-continuous layer of mottled red/black/grey sandy silt that overlaid portions of 1022/1039. During the 1997 season, this 2 centimetre thick layer was interpreted to be the top of 'interface' context 1039, as the texture was very similar, and the mottled and darker colour could have easily resulted from increased exposure to occupation debris through the floorboards. 1020 had low visibility in the 1997 trenches of Area A, but was recorded as a non-continuous lens in trench profiles. Only one artefact was recovered from 1020 during the 1997 season. This highly oxidized 1806 George III copper penny was recovered near the Dormitory entranceway (**Figure 25 p. 72**).

The majority of Factory-related artefacts were recovered from context 1015 (**Figure 13**). Context 1015 was only found on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory. As a thick layer of sandstone and brick rubble with extensive artefactual materials, 1015 appeared to contain Factory underfloor deposits intermixed with the remains of a first demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory. Field documentation recorded a significantly high presence of occupation-related artefacts, including kaolin clay tobacco pipe bowls and stems, copper alloy sewing pins, red-on-white glass beads, ferrous, bone and mother-of-pearl buttons, pre-1870s olive glass bottle fragments, and numerous transfer-printed ceramic sherds. Although artefactual materials were mixed throughout context 1015, there appeared to be a concentration of artefacts closer to the Dormitory foundation walls 1010 and 1053. While this spatial patterning was likely related to the movement of debris during demolition activities, it might also suggest that Factory materials were more frequently deposited where floorboards joined with the wall interior. The gap between floorboards and Dormitory wall could easily catch both intentionally and unintentionally deposited objects. Floorboards would also be most easily and discretely loosened at their ends, enabling inmates to stash larger objects in the underfloor space. Ultimately, 1015 seemed to be an interface horizon, blending Factory Period site occupation, and post-Factory demolition events. Documentary and stratigraphic data used to relatively date context 1015 will be presented below in a general discussion of the first period of demolition.

Uphill from the Factory Main Compound, a sandstone cottage housed the Constables' Room and office. This two-room structure faced the entrance, and was situated on the northern side of Portugal Street. The first depiction of this structure occurred in an 1851 plan of

the Ross Factory (**Figure 4**). Currently, remains of the building lie within the backyard of a private domestic house immediately north of the Historic Site. During the 1995 season, with the permission of the private landowner, a scaled drawing was made of the southern facade of the remaining wall. As a multi-phase structure, four separate building sequences could be read from the sandstone facade, representing both construction (1012 & 1012A) and recycling events (1012B & 1012C). The original one-room sandstone structure (1012) retained a large slab doorsill and weathered quoins outlining the entranceway. By 1851 an additional room (1012A) had been built against the eastern wall of 1012, creating a two-room structure with separate and adjoining entrances, as depicted in figure 5. Quoins and sandstone steps also marked the entrance of 1012A. Recycling efforts (1012B & 1012C) will be described within the 20th Century Rural Use section of this report.

First Demolition and Abandonment

On the interior of the structure, the first demolition activity involved removal of sandstone from the mid-Dormitory joist support wall (1027). In the north of Area A, a robber trench (1044) cut through 1039 and into 1025. The outlines of two large blocks of sandstone were retained in the hardened 1025 clay, suggesting an extraction of material from 1027. Such a robbing event would involve at least a partial removal of floorboards from the Dormitory structure.

This robber cut (1044) was subsequently filled with material from interface context 1015. The 1015 matrix was a brown silt, containing both structural demolition debris and Factory-related artefactual materials, as discussed above. Historic documents suggest the Dormitory was not substantially re-occupied after closure of the Female Factory in 1855 (Scripps & Clark 1991, Chapter 6). A site plan dated c. 1862 depicted the Crime Class Dormitory as fully intact (**Figure 5**). In 1873 representatives of the Main Line Railway were granted permission to use the abandoned Factory buildings, now recorded as ‘fast decaying for want of attention . . .’ (*JPP* 1873 no. 25, p. 18). Archaeological evidence of their industrial use of the Crime Class region was recovered from contexts that stratigraphically overlaid 1015, as will be presented below. As documented in field notes, the vast majority of cultural material recorded in 1015 was structural debris (terracotta bricks, ferrous nails, spikes, bolts, wedges, nuts, hooks, bolsters, and unidentified fragments, and sandstone rubble) related to demolition activities. Thus, 1015 appears to be an interface layer, with substantial remnants of Factory deposits. This first demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory seemed to occur after 1862, but before the site was re-occupied by the Main Line Railway company in 1873.

Exterior to the structure, small deposits of mortar and plaster (1017 & 1021) overlay the pebble-pack

courtyard. Context 1017 was 14 centimetres long by 48 centimetres wide, packed against the 1848 modified drain segment 1060. Context 1021 was 8 centimetres by 10 centimetres, located within the muster yard. These patches did not appear to be a component of the flooring of the courtyard, as they overlay intact portions of context 1016. Instead these deposits resulted from a partial demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory, and supported historical accounts of whitewashing of interior and exterior walls.

Within the foundation wall, a gap of 92 centimetres (north–south) by 60 centimetres (east–west) marked the original location of the sandstone door sill (**Figure 11**). This rectangular slab was probably robbed from the dormitory and recycled into some other local building just after abandonment of the prison site. The robber cut (context 1058) did not appear to substantially affect the adjacent foundation wall. Stratigraphically, removal of the door sill preceded demolition of the entrance porch, as a layer of soft flood silt separated structural remains of the two demolition events.

Since the Ross Factory site cuts into the southern slope of an alluvial terrace, approximately 400 metres east of the Macquarie River, and only 4 metres higher than the average water level, the site experiences frequent flooding and related alluvial deposition of natural sediments. Thus, with abandonment of the Factory buildings in 1855, maintenance of the sandstone drain system was discontinued, resulting in a relatively rapid accumulation of soil and cultural debris within the feature. Below the sandstone drain bowl, context 1054 was excavated from within the underbarrel box drain (1055). Composed of a loose dark brown silt, this context predominantly contained structural debris related to decay and demolition of the Factory buildings. Upper spoon drains had similarly clogged with alluvial sediments. Context 1014 was a fine, slightly alkaline silt layer collected inside the sandstone spoon drain (1011, 1037, 1038 & 1060). Context 1013 was an identical silt collected atop that feature and spread exterior to the Dormitory structure, covering the courtyard pebble-pack flooring (1016). Contexts 1013 and 1014 were only separated because of their physical relationship to the upper sandstone drain; stratigraphically, they related to the same period of abandonment and alluvial deposition. Context 1041 filled the robber cut (1058) within the Dormitory foundation wall, and overlay the 1841–42 era pebble-pack courtyard paving (1048). Similar in texture to 1014 and 1013, context 1041 was a lighter brown silt with a slightly acidic pH.

Industrial Use (c. 1873–79)

Archaeological evidence suggested a period of industrial occupation followed preliminary demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory structure. As discussed above, historical evidence documents the utilization and repair of abandoned Factory structures by the Main Line

Railway company in 1873 (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 59). During the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, a number of pits were recorded cutting into context 1015, and containing cultural materials related to this period of site occupation. Contexts 1024 and 1043 were both shallow and roughly circular cuts, unlikely to be the result of bioturbation. Filling 1024, context 1023 consisted of highly rusted ferrous material, the majority of which was too oxidized to permit object identification. The fragile remains of one cylindrical ferrous can was recovered from 1023, with approximate dimensions of 15 centimetres diameter, by 14 centimetres in height.

Context 1043 was approximately 50 centimetres in diameter, and 23 centimetres deep. It contained 1042, a dark black silt dump of construction materials of various fabrics. The matrix was infused with charcoal debris and oxidized ferrous fragments. 1042 also consisted of two large irregular pieces of sandstone rubble and a circular plug of soft, fine-grained 'Portland' lime cement. Both chunks of rubble were coated with a hardened charcoal and pitch residuc. The cement plug retained impressions that suggested it had hardened within a mixing bucket. Its fabric suggested a post-Factory date for 1042, as Portland cement began to be manufactured in Australia during the 1850s (P. Douglas, personal communication 1998), and was not in common usage before the turn of the century (Barnes 1996, p. 56; Gibbons 1980). Context 1031 was recorded in the 1995 trench of Area A. Cut into 1015 rubble, it was filled with context 1007.

Context 1032 only appeared in the southern trench of Area A, on the interior of the Dormitory structure. This irregularly shaped pit cut into 1015, and was filled with context 1018, an extremely fine dark brown compact silt. Over 4 metres in diameter, context 1032 appeared to cut into the southern end of the Dormitory west wall foundation (1010), as some disturbance to the sandstone courses was visible. It also corresponded with the disappearance of context 1027, the mid-Dormitory joist support foundation (**Figure 11**). Neither sandstone rubble nor bricks were recovered from context 1018. Only twenty-five European artefacts and two Aboriginal flakes were recovered from this layer, primarily consisting of ferrous fragments (fifteen), slivers of animal bone, window glass fragments, and charcoal. It was originally separated from 1015 because of the disappearance of rubble, and the change in colour of the soil matrix. Contexts 1032 and 1018 were overlayed by context 1007, an upper rubble layer that reflected the final demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory. In an 1879 plan of structures standing at the Ross Factory (**Figure 6**), proposed subdivision 'Lot 3' indicated that buildings in the south-eastern quadrant of the Factory compound had been demolished. Given that context 1032 removed both 1015 and 1027, it is possible this cut reflected the partial demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory that occurred after 1873, but before 1879. Context 1032 appeared to have filled with silt deposits

from the Macquarie River, creating 1018. These two contexts were then overlayed by the final demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory structure (context 1007).

Final Demolition (post-1890)

On the exterior of the Crime Class Dormitory structure, overlaying the alluvial deposition of context 1013, excavations revealed a layer of handmade bricks. Originally recorded as two separate contexts 1034 and 1051, the deposition was later merged into context 1051 when further excavation revealed the brick layer to be one continuous feature. This layer consisted of five rows of bricks laid flat, immediately north of context 1049, the northern foundation wall of the 1848 entrance porch. In four rows, the bricks had been laid on their sides; in the central row, the bricks had been laid on their bases. A scatter of broken bricks surrounded the five rows of stacked bricks. While the overall brick scatter was approximately 2.8 metres long (north-south) by 2.4 metres wide (east-west), the five brick rows covered an area roughly 1 metre long by 1.20 metres wide. Very little plaster or mortar remained bonded to the bricks. The five rows of bricks did not seem to form a recognizable bond pattern, and since the majority of the rows were laid on their sides, the feature did not appear to be a pathway or paved surface. Context 1051 was probably formed during recycling of building materials during demolition of the entrance porch.

Contexts 1007 and 1004 formed an 'interface' layer, containing evidence of both industrial site use by the Main Line Railway, and final demolition of the Crime Class Dormitory. Although this rubble layer was one stratigraphic unit, spread across all of Area A, it was divided into two separate contexts to spatially differentiate between those deposits excavated on the interior (1007) versus exterior (1004) of the Dormitory structure. Both contexts predominantly consisted of sandstone and brick rubble embedded within a dark brown silt. The rubble varied in size from 2 centimetre pebbles to 50 centimetre rocks and intact bricks. Context 1004 overlay the western Dormitory foundation wall (1010), the post-Factory alluvial silt contexts, and courtyard features including the entrance porch foundations, sandstone drain system and the courtyard pebble-pack floor surface (**Figure 12**). Spread across the interior of the structure, context 1007 overlay the first demolition layer (1015), the industrial occupation pits, and the large silt-filled robber trench (1032) recorded in the southern interior of Area A (**Figure 13**). Few reusable cut sandstone blocks were recorded, suggesting that all worthwhile building materials were recycled from the structure during accumulation of this layer. A great amount of fragmentary structural artefacts (bricks, window glass, ferrous nails, bolts, nuts, and mortar) were recovered. Together, 1004 and 1007 represented the final collapse of the Dormitory structure. Preliminary artefact analysis indicated an unusually high frequency of structural and heavy industrial ferrous materials

through this upper demolition layer, including over 1 600 ferrous nails, 50 railroad spikes, 600 large round bolts, 200 square bolts, 60 chain link fragments, numerous rods, wedges, and hooks, and substantial deposits of heavy oxidized ferrous fragments and inorganic slag.

Topsoil and 20th Century Use

Overlying the final demolition rubble, a layer of dark brown compact silt accumulated through continued alluvial deposition by periodic floods of the Macquarie River. Although this silt layer was one stratigraphic unit, it was divided to spatially differentiate between deposits recovered on the interior (1006 & 1006A) versus exterior (1005) of the Crime Class Dormitory (**Figures 12 & 13**). All three contexts contained the bottom of the roots from grassy surface vegetation. Artefact frequency dropped noticeably in comparison with the underlying 1004/1007 demolition rubble layer. Both 19th and 20th century artefacts were recovered within this alluvial silt, predominantly structural debris (window glass, mortar, brick fragments, copper wire, ferrous nails) or rural domestic artefacts (rubber hose, plastic fragments, ceramic sherds, machine-made bottle fragments). Context 1006A was arbitrarily separated from 1006 during the 1995 season to increase vertical control during excavation. During the 1997 season, these two contexts were merged into 1006.

Contexts 1001 and 1002 both consisted of dark brown clayey silt, with slightly acidic pH of 6. These two contexts formed the topsoil 'A-horizon' overlaying all of Area A. The soil matrix was contained within a compact organic root mass from surface vegetation. Separated in 1995 to differentiate deposits recovered interior (1001) versus exterior (1002) to the Crime Class Dormitory, these layers were merged into context 1001 during the 1997 excavation season. Screening of the excavated soil matrix began with this layer. The surface layer of vegetation was identified as context 1000, and was not screened. Surface artefacts were collected from context 1000.

Cutting into 1001, context 1047 contained context 1046. This loose black silty fill related to recent 20th century activities in Area A, as an aluminium beverage can was recovered within the context (**Figure 13**). This pit might reflect rural industrial activities during the Knowles' Farm period of site occupation, as high frequencies of charcoal, copper-alloy wire, ferrous bolts and nails, and roofing pitch were recovered from the feature.

By 1894 the 'Constable's Office' situated on the northern side of Portugal Street (1012 & 1012A), became occupied by a Mrs Knowles (Terry 1998, p. 23; Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 60), probably the mother of Mr Leslie Knowles who leased the factory site from 1939 to 1974. An aerial photograph from 1949 depicts the two-room sandstone cottage as still intact. Currently, demolished remains of the building lie within the

backyard of a private domestic house immediately north of the Historic Site. During the 1995 season, at the permission of the private landowner, a scaled drawing was made of the southern facade of the remaining wall. As a multi-phase structure, four separate building sequences could be read from the sandstone facade, representing both construction (1012 & 1012A) and recycling events (1012B & 1012C). These latter two contexts were cut and finished sandstone blocks that had been removed from the upper wall of the original structure, and set into the quoined doorways to create a solid property boundary wall. Context 1012B filled the original doorway of context 1012, and 1012C blocked the doorway of 1012A. Obviously, this last building horizon related to 20th century recycling of Factory-related structures.

Area B: The Hiring Class and Assistant Superintendent's Quarters

Area B contained archaeological remains of the Hiring Class and the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters. These trenches were opened during the 1997 field season. At the request of Angie McGowan, Parks and Wildlife Service of Tasmania, Area B began as a 1 square metre test pit. This trench was then extended 1 metre to the west, forming a 1 x 2 metre test pit. After extensive rubble deposits prevented stratigraphic excavation within this rectangular test trench, Area B was further extended into a 16 square metre trench. By the end of the 1997 season, 40 square metres had been excavated in Area B, sampling from both the Hiring Class and the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (ASQ). Trenches revealed portions of the Hiring Class Dormitory and Muster Yard, and two rooms within the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters. Eight periods could be sequenced from the stratigraphic matrix of Area B (**Figure 10 & Appendix 4**). These deposits reflected pre-European deposits, four periods of convict era construction and occupation, site abandonment and demolition of the Factory structures.

Natural (pre-1833)

Excavation trenches within Area B revealed a base stratum of sterile yellow-orange clay, identified as context 2015. Found throughout Area B, 2015 was encountered approximately 52 centimetres below surface level inside the Hiring Class Dormitory, 17 centimetres below surface in the Hiring Class muster yard, 53 centimetres below surface in the east room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, and 87.3 centimetres below surface in the west room. This layer was also found in Areas A (1025) and D (4005), at roughly the same depth below surface level. In all three areas, the upper 2 centimetres of matrix from this context were wet sieved through 5 millimetre and 2.5 millimetre mesh to test for the presence of artefacts. Since no European or Aboriginal artefacts were recovered from this sterile layer, excavation was ceased within this context.

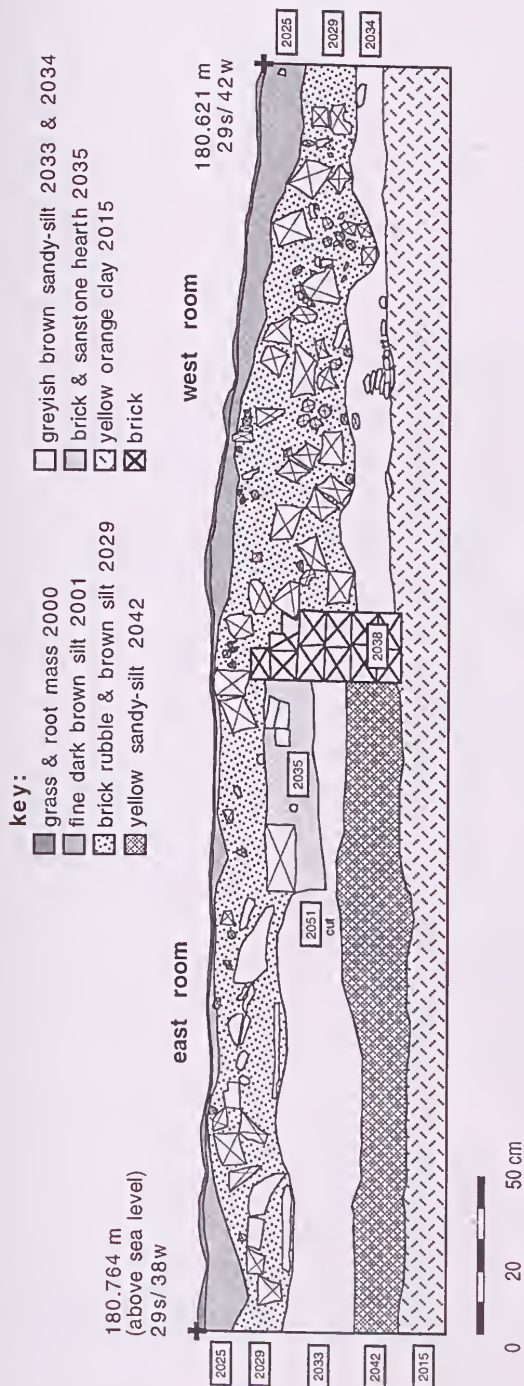


Figure 14. Area B: Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, interior profile.

Within the east room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, context 2015 was overlaid by a yellow sandy silt (context 2042) (Figure 14). Only twenty-four European and eleven Aboriginal lithic artefacts were recovered from 2042. At the request of Charlie Beasley, the RFAP Aboriginal Heritage Officer, this matrix was not tested for colour or pH readings, and no soil sample was taken (Appendix 7). During excavation, this context demonstrated a light-coloured greyish yellow-brown colour and sandy texture, similar to context 1039 within Area A. Like the latter stratum, context 2042 was interpreted as a remnant of the pre-convict soil profile, created through a long process of natural alluvial weathering. It appeared to form the interface between natural and culturally-impacted strata, as will be presented below.

The Bridge Gang Period (1833–36)

According to historical studies, the first non-Aboriginal occupation of the Ross site occurred in 1833, when four brick and thatch huts were constructed to accommodate male convicts working on the Ross Bridge (Scripps & Clark 1991; Terry 1998, p. 12 & fig. 2). By 1836 this small settlement had been elaborated into a convict station that included a single storey brick and thatch building containing four dormitories, a mess room, a cookhouse, and a muster yard (Evans 1996, p. 43). Archaeological evidence of this first convict occupation was found in the south of Area B.

Contexts 2033 and 2034 were located within the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (Figures 14 & 15). A highly compact sandy silt, 2033 was dark greyish-brown in colour. Context 2020 was joined with context 2033 when excavation trenches were extended into the ASQ region of Area B. Context 2034 was a highly compact brown sandy silt located within the western room of the ASQ. It was found 26 centimetres lower than 2033. During excavation, the nature of deposition for these contexts was undetermined. Following further stratigraphic analysis, 2033 and 2034 were interpreted as the earthen floors of original 1830s Bridge Gang structures. Archaeological evidence suggests these original buildings underwent some modification during the later 1840s Road Gang occupation period, and eventually housed the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters during the Female Factory period. The ASQ contained the only intact brick foundations recorded during site excavation (contexts 2017, 2019 & 2038). All other excavated buildings had been constructed of roughly coursed sandstone blocks and rubble fill, and dated to expansion of the

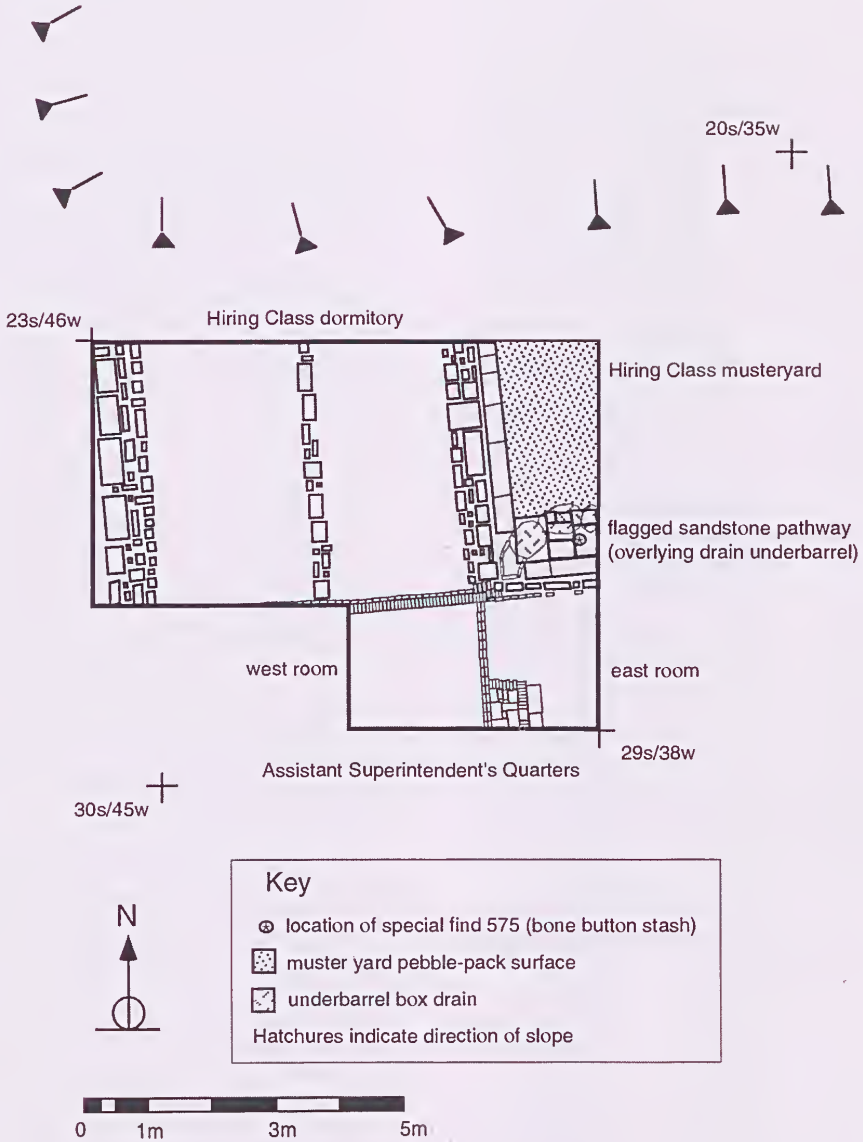


Figure 15. Area B: Plan of excavated features.

station in 1842 (Terry 1998, p. 13), or addition of the Chapel and Solitary Cells in 1851 (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 13). These brick foundations eventually formed the northern wall of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (contexts 2017 & 2019), and the dividing wall between the eastern and western rooms (context 2038). No evidence existed for stone or wooden floors inside the brick ASQ structure.

The western room of the ASQ was substantially lower than the east room because of local topography and the architectural history of this structure. In the 1842 plan (Figure 2), the eastern and western rooms of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters were part of two separate structures, joined by a common wall. The western ASQ room was originally part of a convict dormitory, and oriented along a north-south axis,

running against the steep slope of the alluvial terrace. The eastern ASQ room appeared to be part of the station Cookhouse, oriented along an east–west axis that ran along the slope of the terrace. To make a level floor for the north–south Dormitory, a stone foundation was laid for the southern (unexcavated) portion of the structure, and the northern half was cut (2050) into the hillside. Brick foundation walls 2017 and 2038 were laid directly into the sides of this cut, as excavation revealed them to be built directly onto and supported by the sterile basal clay (2015). In making this cut, all pre-convict strata were disturbed, and the majority of natural surface stratum (2042) was removed. This sandy silt matrix was then relaid through the north–south Dormitory to create an earthen floor (2034) above the natural clay.

Because the east–west oriented Cookhouse was situated at one elevation of the alluvial terrace, construction of a level floor did not involve major earth works. Built against the brick Dormitory, the Cookhouse shared a brick wall (context 2038) with the adjoining structure (Figures 14 & 15). The ground surface was minimally cleared, leaving a remnant of the original A-horizon above the basal clay horizon (2015). This original A-horizon consisted of two contexts within the ASQ east room. Context 2042 was the sandy silt layer immediately above the sterile clay. Context 2033 formed the earthen floor of the east–west oriented 1830s Era Cookhouse. It shared a very gradual interface with 2042, most noticeably marked by a change from light-coloured greyish yellow–brown matrix (2042) to dark greyish brown matrix (2033). This colour change probably resulted from increased cultural impact on the upper strata. Thus, although 2042 and 2033 were originally part of the same pre-1833 topsoil, they became differentiated as the upper 23 centimetres served as an earthen floor for the Cookhouse, and experienced a higher degree of cultural disturbance. Whereas only twenty-four European artefacts were recovered from 2042, context 2033 contained 207 19th century artefacts, including an 1866 British penny (Figure 25 p. 72). The nature of these materials is presented in the following section of this report.

Since context 2033 constituted the earthen floor of a Cookhouse, plans document the presence of a bread oven or chimney hearth against the shared brick wall (2038) (see Figures 2 (1842), 3 (1848), and 5 (1862)). Archaeological evidence existed for this feature inside the east ASQ room. A cut (context 2051) into 2033 contained the remains of a brick and sandstone feature, identified as context 2035 (Figures 14 & 15). Because 2035 intersected with the southern edge of the Area B excavation trench, only 47 centimetres by 50 centimetres of it were revealed. Consisting of four rows of brick surrounded by slabs of cut and finished sandstone, 2035 abutted the brick wall (2038) dividing the east and west ASQ rooms. After examination of historic plans, this ambiguous feature was interpreted to be either the base of an oven or the hearth of a chimney built against the

brick dividing wall (2038). Matrix removed from 2035 was much redder silt than surrounding dirt. This colour change might have resulted from a gradual decay of the soft handmade bricks within 2035, or from thermo-chemical effects of heat within this oven or chimney feature.

Historic plans document significant modifications to the brick 1830s Bridge/Gang Era structures. Although the Ross Station was substantially expanded in 1842 (Figure 2), the new compound of sandstone buildings was constructed around the pre-existing brick structures. In 1847, when modifications were made to the Ross Station in preparation for female convicts, plans reveal that the north–south oriented Dormitory structure was subdivided by the addition of a new interior wall. The east–west oriented ‘Cookhouse’ was joined with the northern side of the ‘Dormitory’, and a doorway was cut through the shared brick wall (2038). These modifications created the eastern and western ASQ rooms excavated during 1997 (Figure 15). Retaining its original brick walls and earthen floors, the adapted structure became designated as the Assistant Superintendent’s Quarters. Thus, historic evidence suggested that contexts 2033 and 2034 (the earthen floors) contained materials from all convict era periods of site occupation. No physical evidence of the documented structural modifications could be recovered, as the features lay south of the Area B excavation trench. Archaeological evidence also did not indicate whether the oven/chimney feature (2035) was demolished during these structural changes, or after post-1855 abandonment of the Female Factory. Since less than 8 square metres of the Assistant Superintendent’s Quarters were excavated during the 1997 season, a southern extension of the Area B trench would be essential for interpreting the function of 2035 and evaluating the architectural history of this complex multi-phased brick structure.

The Road Gang and Probation Periods (1842–47)

Since the Ross site was established on the southern face of an alluvial terrace, when constructing the original 1842 Road Gang Station, convict labourers cut into the sharp slope of the hill to clear a relatively flat surface for the Main Compound of the prison (Figure 7). Into this cleared level surface, the sandstone buildings were added to the 1830s-era brick structures. Sandstone wall foundations recorded in Area B (2010 & 2037) related to this Road Gang occupation period. As will be presented later in this report, convict structures within the Hiring Class region of Area B had experienced greater disturbance by 20th century activities than structures in Areas A or C. As part of this disturbance, portions of the Factory Period floorboard support piers were absent. Within Area B the 1842 Dormitory wall trench cuts were located and excavated, unlike in Area A. Context 2021 cut into the sterile clay basal horizon, and contained the eastern Dormitory wall foundation (2010), and a combination of stabilising fills (2027, 2014 & 2006).



Figure 16. Area B: Overhead photograph of excavation trenches, south facing.

Context 2043 similarly cut into 2015, and contained the western Dormitory wall foundation (2037), and an unexcavated fill (2043).

Identical to those of Area A, the Hiring Class Dormitory walls were approximately 90 centimetres wide and 50 centimetres high, oriented along a north–south axis through the excavation trench. These foundations formed the inner and outer walls of the Hiring Class Dormitory structure during the Female Factory period (**Figure 15**). Abutting the 1830s-era brick structures, the 1842 sandstone Dormitory shared a common structural wall (2017) with the earlier Assistant Superintendent's Quarters. Constructed of roughly cut sandstone bonded with lime mortar, the Hiring Class walls also contained stone packing to even out the irregularly shaped stone blocks (**Figure 16**). As in Areas A and C, most Aboriginal lithic artefacts recovered from Area B

appeared to have been recycled into this rubble pack (Casella 1996b). High frequencies of lime-washed mortar recovered from both interior and exterior sides of the foundation walls supported documentary accounts of dormitory whitewashing (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 13).

Exterior to the structure, excavation revealed a continuation of the undocumented sandstone drain system. As in Area A, the drains consisted of two parts: an upper sandstone spoon drain (context 2011) and a subsurface underbarrel box drain (2032). This latter feature directly cut (2046) into the natural sterile clay (2015). The underbarrel box was constructed of cut sandstone blocks, and appeared to have a hard clay floor. Capped with roughly finished blocks of sandstone, the box barrel was approximately 27.4 centimetres deep. It drained eastwards, away from the Dormitory structure and towards the centre of the Station compound. An

unexcavated clayey silt (2031) filled the large underbarrel drain cut (2046). This deposit physically supported segments of the upper spoon drain.

Sections of the upper spoon drain (2011) were recorded along the western and southern boundaries of the Hiring Class Muster Yard. Abutting the Hiring Class Dormitory structure, the western segment of 2011 had been cut (2048) into sterile basal clay (2015), and was supported and levelled by a layer of irregularly shaped, small, flat sandstone blocks (2044). Southern segments of 2011 ran along an east–west axis, between the 1830s-era brick foundation wall (2019), and the Factory Period cut sandstone pathway (2018). It overlay fill of the underbarrel trench (2031). As in Area A, the spoon drain demonstrated evidence of extensive manual labour. Each hand-carved segment appeared to be individually fitted. Hand drill marks were easily visible throughout the bevelled interior of the drain. Thin incisions had been feathered along the side of the drain closest to foundation walls, possibly providing a roughened surface for some waterproofing damp course of fabric or plaster. Levels taken during excavation indicated that drain contents were channelled towards the south-west corner of the Muster Yard. The missing sandstone drain bowl from Area B (Figures 15 & 16) had been robbed soon after abandonment of the site in 1855, and no robber trench was present in the local stratigraphy.

A highly compact dirt and pebble-pack muster yard lay directly east of the Hiring Class. Composed of highly compacted pebbles and cobbles suspended within a brown silt matrix, this feature demonstrated two separate construction periods. The first (context 2028) was laid during expansion of the Road Gang Station in 1842, and spread across the Hiring Class Muster Yard at an average depth of 14.5 centimetres below surface level. A second layer of courtyard flooring (2009) seemed to relate to installation of a sandstone pathway along the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters during the Female Factory Period of site occupation, as will be discussed below.

The Female Factory Period (1847–55)

Evidence for two separate building events related to the Female Factory period was recovered from the trenches of Area B. As a result, Factory-related contexts have been stratigraphically and historically sequenced into Early and Late periods.

Early Factory Period (1847–50). In 1847 and 1848, significant architectural modifications occurred at the Ross site. As in Area A, these additions were intended to adapt the establishment for accommodation of female convicts (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 9; Terry 1998, p. 16). In Area B, excavations recovered archaeological evidence of changes in the flooring of the Hiring Class Dormitory.

As discussed earlier in this report, during the male convict periods of site occupation, historic documents

record that dormitory structures were floored with cut sandstone (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 9). After female convicts were received at the Ross Female Factory in 1848, the original stone floors were removed and replaced with wooden boards (CO 280/690/284 December 1848). Archaeological evidence for this reflooring event was recovered in the form of two sandstone support piers. Context 2049 abutted the eastern dormitory foundation wall (2010); context 2040 was located midway through the dormitory structure. No sandstone flagging remained in situ from the 1840s male convict occupation period.

The 1848 extraction of Hiring Class Dormitory flagstone flooring was stratigraphically evident in context 2022, a cut into the sterile clay bed (2015), running 172 centimetres through the Dormitory interior. During and after installation of wooden floorboards, underfloor deposits accumulated within this depression. Context 2023 was a dark yellowish brown silty clay with small rubble inclusions (Figure 17). Because rain during excavation of this deposit led to saturation of its matrix, context 2023 was wet sieved through 5 millimetre and 2.5 millimetre screen mesh.

Late Factory Period (1851–55). Context 2018 was a pathway of cut sandstone flags immediately north of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters. Historical and archaeological data suggested this feature was added to the entrance of the structure by 1851. The 1848 plan of alterations to the Ross station (Figure 3) depicts a 'passage' entrance to the 1830s-era brick structure of Area B, then labelled 'Overseer's Quarters'. This passageway was separated from the Hiring Class Yard by a wooden fence, and appeared to end approximately 8 feet east of the junction with the convict dormitory. By 1851 this fenced passageway had been extended to the intersection of the two structures, and the brick structure had been redesignated as the 'Assistant Superintendent's Quarters' (Figure 4).

Stratigraphic evidence suggested that the sandstone-flagged pathway was a later addition to the Hiring Class Yard. Since no post holes were discovered during excavation of the Muster Yard (2009), neither the presence nor location of the fence line could be archaeologically determined. Individual flags of context 2018 ranged in size from 84 centimetres x 94 centimetres to 16 centimetres x 26 centimetres. This pathway appeared to be set into the pebble-packed courtyard floor surface (2009). After a great amount of physical effort, four of these large flags were raised, revealing a second layer of dark brown pebble-packed silt (2028). This lower and stratigraphically earlier layer was substantially darker brown than 2009. Thus, it appeared that a modification of the pebble-packed floor had accompanied installation of the sandstone path in 1851. To create a relatively level surface for the sandstone flags, a 50 centimetres wide x 20 centimetres deep cut was made into 2028, the original 1842 Road

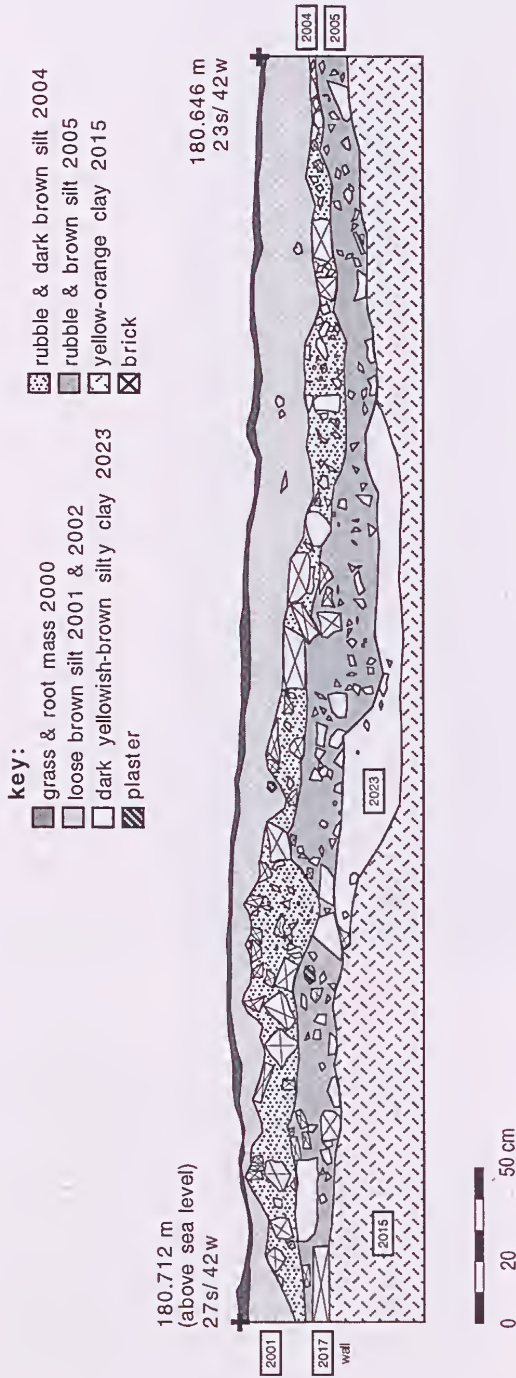


Figure 17. Area B: Hiring Class Dormitory, interior profile.

Gang Era courtyard floor. This cut was filled with the heavy sandstone flags of 2018. To stabilize this new pathway, a new layer of compacted dark brown silt and pebbles (context 2009) was packed around the flags, and compressed into the original silt and pebble courtyard. Evidence for these two courtyard flooring events was stratigraphically demonstrated through the presence of remnant deposits of 2028 overlying the box drain underbarrel (2032), but underlying the flagstones of 2018.

Abandonment

Since the Ross Factory site cuts into the southern slope of an alluvial terrace, approximately 400 metres east and 4 metres above the average height of the Macquarie River, the site experiences frequent flooding and related alluvial deposition of natural sediments. Thus, with abandonment of the Factory buildings in 1855, maintenance of the sandstone drain system was discontinued, resulting in a relatively rapid accumulation of soil and cultural debris within the feature. Context 2026 was excavated from within the underbarrel box drain (2032). Composed of a loose dark brown silt, this context contained both structural debris and artefacts related to all periods of convict occupation. Most remarkably, a ferrous musket powder flask was discovered approximately 50 centimetres up the box drain (2032). Capped with a copper-alloy self-measuring release valve spout, this pear-shaped artefact was too heavily oxidized to distinguish any military insignia or decorative marks that might have specifically identified the object.

Upper spoon drains had similarly clogged with alluvial sediments. Context 2024 was a brown alkaline silt layer collected above 2026, within the space of the robbed drain bowl. A second ferrous musket powder flask was recovered from this deposit. This particular flask was squashed flat, and even more highly oxidized than the one recovered inside 2032; only with discovery of the latter artefact could the 2026 flask be correctly identified. Context 2012 was a very dark greyish brown silt of neutral pH accumulated within the upper sandstone spoon drain (2011).

Final Demolition (post-1890)

Because of its proximity to the standing 'Ross Cottage', Area B experienced a high degree of post-Factory use. As in Area A, two distinct demolition layers could be interpreted from the interior of the Hiring Class Dormitory (Figure 17). However, unlike context 1015, the lower demolition layer did not seem to contain frequent underfloor deposits related to female convict

occupation of the structure. Contexts 2041, 2005 and 2016 consisted of sandstone and brick rubble held within a compact brown silt of neutral pH. During excavation, context 2016 at first appeared to resemble a flat sandstone feature, and was provisionally interpreted as a possible remnant of the Road Gang Period sandstone dormitory flooring. However, further excavation demonstrated the context was merely part of the general rubble, and 2016 was joined with demolition layer 2005. Identical to 2005, context 2041 was subdivided from 2005 because it underlay and physically supported context 2036, a 20th century sandstone structure built into the western interior of the Hiring Class Dormitory.

Overlying this initial demolition event, a second rubble horizon represented the final demolition of Factory structures within Area B. Contexts 2004, 2007 and 2047 formed the destruction and recycling of building materials from the Hiring Class Dormitory. Although this rubble layer was one stratigraphic unit, spread across all of Area B, it was divided into three separate contexts to spatially differentiate between those deposits excavated on the interior (2004), eastern exterior (2007), and western exterior (2047) of the Dormitory structure. All three contexts consisted of sandstone and brick rubble embedded within a dark brown silt. The rubble varied in size from 2 centimetre pebbles to 50 centimetre rocks and intact bricks.

Context 2007 overlay the western Dormitory foundation wall (2010), the post-Factory alluvial silt contexts, and courtyard features including the sandstone drain system and the courtyard pebble-pack floor surface. Spread across the interior of the structure, context 2004 overlay the first demolition layer (2005). Only a very small sample of context 2047 lay inside the Area B excavation trench. Located on the western exterior of the Hiring Class, it experienced high cultural disturbance through 20th century use of the standing cottage, and high natural disturbance from roots of the adjoining fruit trees (Figure 7). Few reusable cut sandstone blocks were recorded within these demolition contexts suggesting that all worthwhile building materials were recycled from the structure during accumulation of this layer. A great amount of fragmentary structural artefacts (bricks, window glass, ferrous nails, bolts, nuts, and mortar) were recovered, intermixed with a very high frequency of late 19th and 20th century artefacts. Together, 2007, 2004 and 2047 represented the final collapse of the Dormitory structure.

Demolition of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (ASQ) appeared in the form of contexts 2029 and 2030. Composed of predominantly brick rubble held within a dark brown alkaline silt matrix, context 2029 spread over the west ASQ room and the southern half of the east ASQ room. Context 2030 was a lighter brown matrix with less brick rubble than 2029. A looser silt, context 2030 contained a higher frequency of lime

mortar deposits. Extensive artefactual materials were recovered from both contexts.

Topsoil and 20th Century Use

Located on the western interior of the Hiring Class Dormitory, contexts 2039 and 2036 formed an ambiguous sandstone feature that stratigraphically dated to post-Factory occupation periods. Context 2039 was a dark brown silt that overlay Dormitory demolition layer 2041. It appeared to function as a bedding soil for context 2036, an ambiguous layer of cut and finished sandstone flags. These flags had probably been recycled from Factory buildings after abandonment of the penal structures in 1855. Abutting the western foundation wall of the Hiring Class Dormitory (2037), this feature would have provided a new floor for post-Factory use of the remaining structural ruins. The specific function of this sandstone feature remained ambiguous at the close of the 1997 excavation season.

Overlying the final demolition rubble, a layer of dark brown compact silt accumulated through continued alluvial deposition by periodic floods of the Macquarie River. Although this silt layer was one stratigraphic unit, it was divided to spatially differentiate between deposits recovered on the interior (2002) versus exterior (2008) of the Hiring Class Dormitory, and the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (Figures 14 & 17). All three contexts contained the bottom of the roots from grassy surface vegetation. Extremely frequent deposits of 20th century artefacts were recovered within this alluvial silt. Since Area B was less than 10 metres from the standing cottage (Figure 7), this substantial post-Factory deposition horizon probably reflected site use during the Police (1855–1938) and Knowles' Farm (1938–74) periods of site occupation.

Context 2001 consisted of very dark greyish-brown silt, with slightly acidic pH of 6. This context formed the topsoil 'A-horizon' overlaying all of Area B. The soil matrix was contained within a compact organic root mass from surface vegetation. Screening of the excavated soil matrix began with this layer. In Area B the surface layer of vegetation was identified as context 2000, and was not screened. Surface artefacts were collected from context 2000.

Area C: The Solitary Cells

Area C contained archaeological remains of the Solitary Confinement cell block that was added to the Ross Female Factory in 1851. During the 1995 season of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, sandstone structural surface remains of the Solitary Cells were recorded, the feature provisionally identified as context 1026. Over the 1997 field season, a total of 16 square metres were archaeologically excavated. Three cells were investigated, with the eastern and western cells sampled, and the central cell fully excavated (Figure 18). Seven

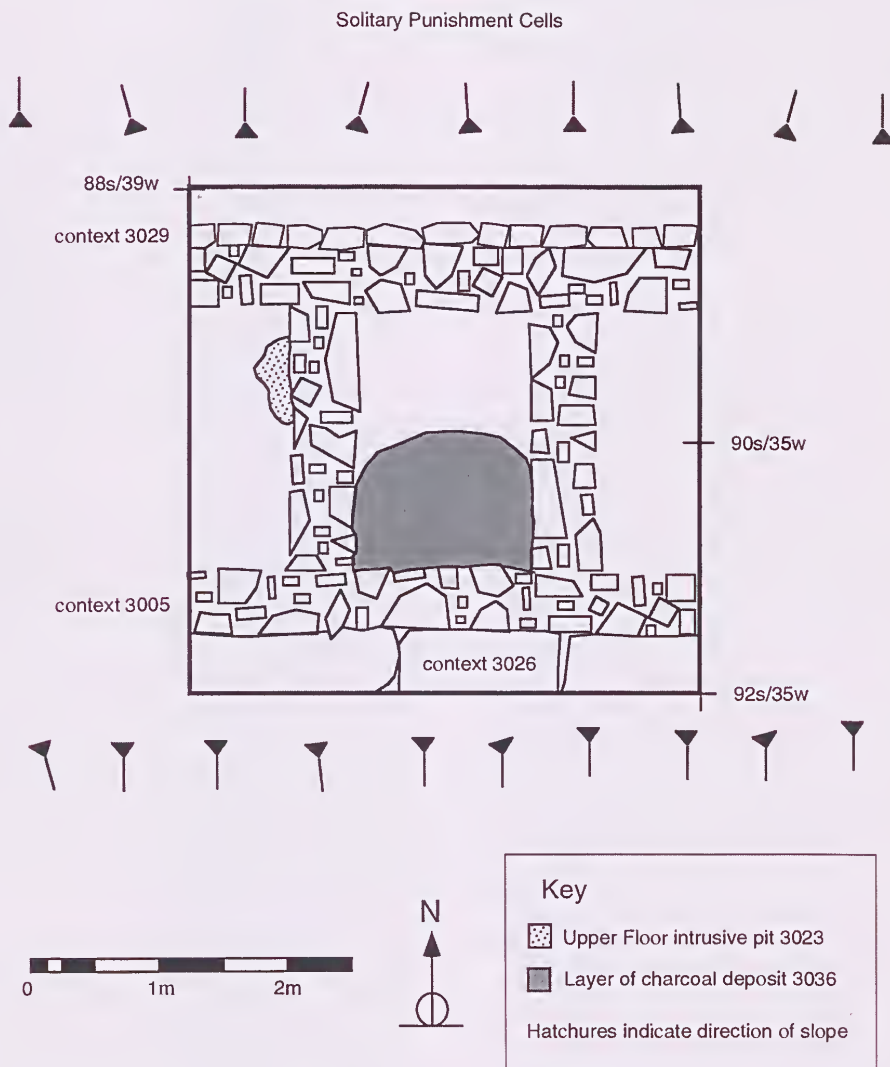


Figure 18. Area C: Plan of excavated features.

periods could be sequenced from the stratigraphic matrix of Area C (**Figure 10 & Appendix 5**). These deposits reflected construction, occupation, reconstruction, abandonment and demolition of the Solitary Cells.

Natural (pre-1851)

No archaeological evidence existed for substantial occupation of Area C before construction of the Solitary Cells in 1851. Basal deposits excavated from Area C

differed from those of the Main Factory Compound. Composed of a compact, very dark brown silt, this predominantly sterile layer was divided into contexts 3033 (West Cell), 3038 (Central Cell), and 3027 (East Cell). The Ross Solitary Cells were situated within the flood plain of the Macquarie River, 32 metres south of and 2.062 metres lower than the Main Compound (Figure 7). Since this convict structure occupied the lowest point at the southern base of the Ross terrace, the natural stratigraphy in Area C predominantly reflected



Figure 19. Area C: Overhead photograph of excavation trench, south facing.

alluvial silt deposition, not colluvial soil formation. Areas A, B and D were all located at higher elevations up this local terrace; their natural stratigraphies represented a far more complex interaction of alluvial and colluvial sedimentary processes. Thus, a basal clay horizon was not encountered at the bottom of Area C, unlike all three other excavation areas.

Construction (1851)

Although requests for the construction of additional 'separate apartments' at the Ross Factory date back to 1848, funds were not allocated until 1850 (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 12). By 1851 the new block of solitary cells was completed in the south of the site, separated from the Main Compound by a series of 9 foot wooden fences (Figures 4 & 5). Walls of this cell block were constructed of rough cut sandstone rubble (Figure 19). Approximately 50 centimetres thick, the foundations (context 3005) were 1 metre high when fully excavated. These walls differed slightly from those of the Hiring Class and Crime Class Dormitories. While the upper courses of roughly cut sandstone and rubble matched those in the Main Compound, the lower foundations consisted of 50 centimetres of unfinished sandstone in a loose rubble pack (Figure 20). These footings resulted from the 'frame construction' method, a common method throughout Tasmanian convict era buildings. In the frame construction method, deep narrow trenches were dug into sterile layers of the ground, and long

wooden boxes set into them. Sandstone rubble was then loosely packed into the construction frames, and covered with an 'icing' of sandy lime mortar. When the mortar had set, the construction frames were removed, and the trenches packed with dirt to stabilize the new sandstone rubble footings in the highly compacted alluvial silts of the Macquarie River flood plain. Contexts 3019 and 3031 were cuts made as part of the construction trench for context 3005.

Individual cells were approximately 1.3 metres wide (east–west) x 2 metres long (north–south), or roughly 4 x 6 feet. The Ross cells were smaller in dimensions than those designed for contemporary male convict establishments, including the Darlington Probation Station of Maria Island (8 x 4 feet), and the Separate or 'Model' Prison of Port Arthur (9 x 6 feet). Specifically built to ensure the perpetual isolation of male inmates, these latter cells might have required a larger size to accommodate their secondary function as places for solitary taskwork (Kerr 1988, p. 153). However, the Ross Factory cells were also smaller than those added to the Parramatta Female Factory in 1837; architectural designs indicated that individual cells at Parramatta measured approximately 8 x 5 feet. While still larger in area, the cells most similar to those at Ross were constructed at Hyde Park Barracks in 1817 and added to the 'Penitentiary' of Port Arthur during the mid-1830s; solitary cells from these two sites measured 7 x 4 feet (Kerr 1988, p. 153).

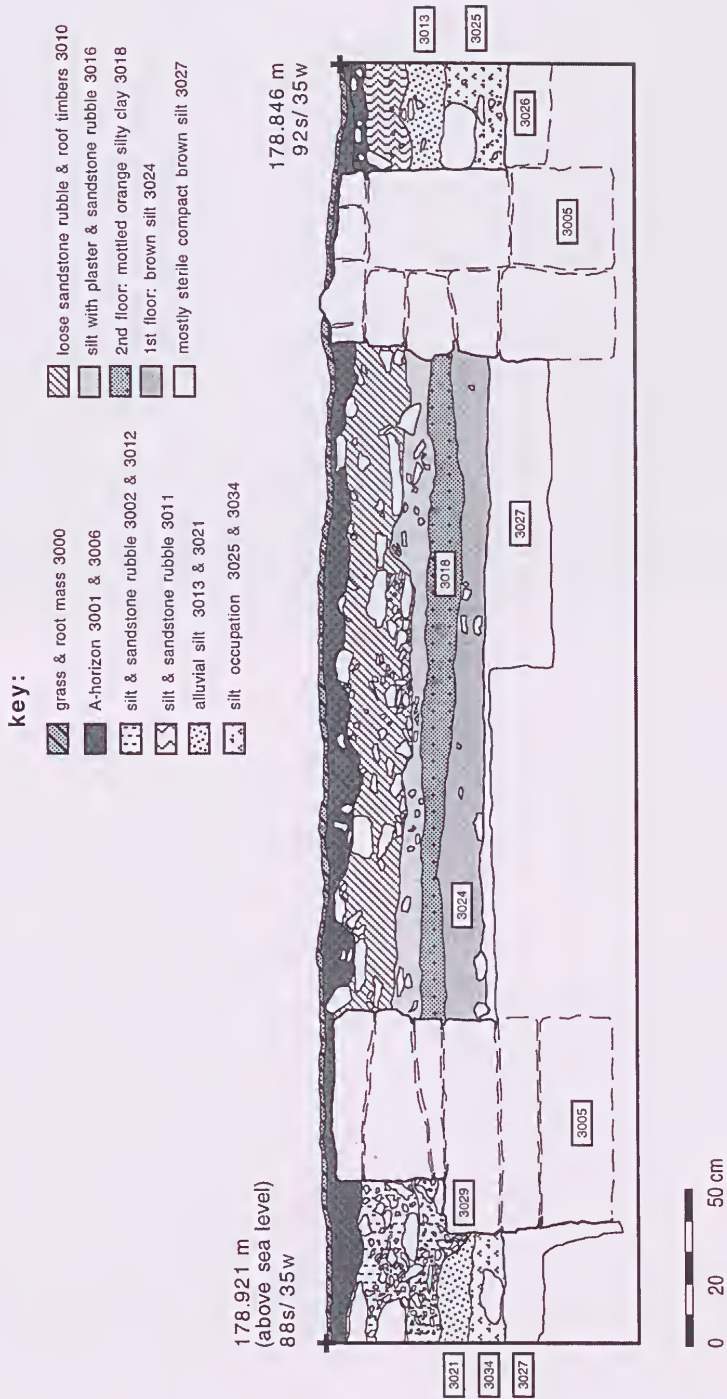


Figure 20. Area C: Solitary Cells, excavation trench profile.



Figure 21. Area C: Detail of context 3036, burnt feature in Central Cell, north facing.

At the Ross Factory, all architectural evidence for the location of cell entrances had been obscured by post-factory recycling of door sills, entry porches, or stairways. Therefore, archaeological preservation of 3005 began below entry level. On the northern exterior, the foundation wall extended 18 centimetres northwards, creating a sandstone ledge (context 3029). This architectural feature might have provided the footings for an entrance porch, as a plan of Factory buildings from c. 1862 recorded the cells were entered from the north (Figure 5). James Kerr identified this architectural design as ‘Single row cells’, and noted that it was extensively used in Van Diemen’s Land convict institutions throughout the 1840s (Kerr 1988, p. 154). Context 3026 was an architectural feature located on the southern exterior of the Solitary Cells (Figures 18 & 20). It consisted of 9 blocks of roughly finished sandstone interspersed with smaller rough blocks. Given that the Cell Block structure probably experienced frequent seasonal flooding, context 3026 could have functioned as additional structural support. It might also have provided a paved pathway for access to the back of the Cells. Additional excavation, specifically expansion of Area C trenches to the south of the Solitary Cells, would be necessary to provide an adequate interpretation of this ambiguous sandstone feature.

The First Floor

Unlike the Hiring and Crime Class Dormitories, the Solitary Cells were floored with packed earth. Contexts

3028 (West Cell), 3037 (Central Cell), and 3024 (East Cell) consisted of dark brown silt, similar in colour, texture and pH to the underlying natural horizon. These floors appeared to be significantly lower than the cell doorways (Figure 20). Although no evidence remained to directly determine the position of cell entrances, the first earthen floors underlay 40 to 50 centimetres of demolition debris and structural collapse. This spatial evidence suggested that entry into one of these punishment cells required a descent of up to half a metre. Some internal stairs of short ladder probably originally existed for each cell. Within Tasmania, these ‘sunken floors’ appear to be an architecturally unique design for solitary cells (Kerr 1984; Evans 1996). Since the Ross Factory cells were originally constructed for the incarceration of female convicts, this peculiar design might be related to gender differences in the perception, nature or experience of solitary confinement.

Substantial amounts of artefacts were recovered from the first floor of all three excavated cells, including brick, bone, ceramic, clay pipe stems and bowl fragments, bottle and window glass, ferrous nails and fragments of a square container. Charcoal was recovered in high frequencies. A copper 1823 George IV British farthing was found embedded within the first floor of the Central Cell (Figure 25 p. 72).

In the southern half of the Central Cell, a distinct lens of black silt and charcoal overlaid the first floor (Figures 18 & 21). Although this blackened,



Figure 22. Area C: Detail of context 3023, pit feature in Western Cell, south facing.

hearth-like layer contained very few cultural materials, 58.5% of the collection was charcoal (Table 4). This feature seemed to result from a fire within the Central Cell. While the fire burnt most intensely in the southern half of the 1.3 x 2 metre space, it also affected adjacent eastern and western cells, as remnants of the original roof timbers recovered in upper demolition layers appeared to have been exposed to high temperatures and some possible fire damage, as discussed in the following presentation on the Final Demolition sequence (Figure 23 p. 64).

Floor surfaces were excavated on the northern and southern exteriors of the cell block. Context 3034 was recorded immediately north of the Solitary Cells. A silty clay, 3034 was mottled grey and very dark brown in colour. This deposit was located approximately 52 centimetres below the surface. It stratigraphically overlay 3019, the trench cut into natural soils during construction of the cell block foundations (3005). Context 3025 had collected atop the ambiguous rough finished sandstone blocks ‘paving’ the southern exterior of the Solitary Cells. Although the matrix was a brown alluvial silt, 3025 appeared ‘peach-coloured’ because of the high frequency of mortar and plaster deposits. A large amount of artefactual materials was recovered from both 3025 and 3034.

The Second Floor

Archaeological evidence suggested that the Solitary Cells were rapidly repaired and continued to be used as a punishment facility. A second packed earth floor overlay the first in all three cells (Figure 20). This second floor feature was identified as 3017 (West Cell), 3035 (Central Cell), and 3018 (East Cell). Approximately 12 centimetres (4.7 inches) thick, the upper floor consisted of orange-brown clayey silt. It was highly compact, requiring strenuous excavation for its removal. Although this architectural feature could be sourced from relatively local soils, it differed noticeably in colour, texture and composition from both the natural dark-brown silt layers and the first earthen floor of the Solitary Cells. The upper floor feature was located at a depth of 30 to 40 centimetres below surface.

Since this feature immediately overlay the burnt layer within the central cell, it appeared to be a ‘re-flooring’ of this penal structure, and probably reflected some undocumented restoration efforts by Factory authorities. Eventual reoccupation of the Solitary Cells was evidenced by the continued presence of convict-related mid-19th century artefacts within the second floor horizon.

Within the West Cell, a pit had been cut (3023) from the second floor (3017) through the first floor (context

3028) and into the sterile soil horizon (3033) (Figures 18 & 22). The semi-circular 22 centimetres x 56 centimetres pit was cut against the eastern wall of the West Cell. Approximately 6 centimetres deep on its northern edge, it sloped southwards to a depth of 12.2 centimetres. This pit was filled with context 3022, a loose, dark yellowish-brown silt. Artefacts found within the pit included fragments of a square ferrous container, faunal bone deposits, one kaolin clay pipe stem, and an olive glass bottle base. This cut related to the Female Factory period of site occupation, and may have functioned as a stash pit for obscuring evidence of materials smuggled into the Solitary Cells.

Abandonment

Historic documents do not record any substantial occupation of the Solitary Cells following closure of the Ross Factory in 1855 (Scripps & Clark 1991, Ch. 6). Contexts 3015 (West Cell) and 3016 (East Cell) were thin layers of dark yellowish-brown silt containing small sandstone rubble and large amounts of plaster. Seasonal floods of the Macquarie River caused rapid accumulation of soil deposits on both the northern and southern exteriors of the cell block structure. Contexts 3021 and 3020 both consisted of sandstone rubble from the decaying structure intermixed with brown silty clay. Although 3020 first appeared to be the fill of construction trench 3019, further excavation revealed that it overlay a Factory period deposit (3034) and the northern exterior sandstone ledge (3029) that might have provided a foundation for a wooden entrance porch. Thus, accumulation of 3020 and 3021 seemed to post-date the closure of the Factory, when ongoing maintenance of the Solitary Cells had ceased.

On the southern exterior, context 3013 was a dark yellowish-brown silt that contained patches of compacted pebbles bonded with mortar and plaster (3014). A very high frequency of flat clear window glass was recovered from 3013. This occurrence suggests that glass-paned ventilation windows were originally located on the southern wall of the cell block. Documentary accounts mention the purchase of window glass for numerous Factory structures (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 13). Extrapolating from common 19th century penal design, these apertures were probably small rectangular windows placed just below ceiling level (Evans 1982).

Context 3013 also contained the intact body and base of a three-part mould olive glass bottle. A fully intact uncapped wooden cone push-up was present on the base of this bottle, indicating a manufacture period of 1820–70 (Boow 1991, pp. 31, 114). A hardened black residue had concreted within the base of this bottle. Two forms of analysis were conducted to determine the composition of this residue. Dr Wieslaw Jablonski, Director of the Central Science Laboratory, University of Tasmania, conducted an electronmicroscopy scan on two samples of the residue. The first sample was

sectioned from the exterior of the residue. Since the dominant chemical components were oxygen (O^2) absorbed from the atmosphere, and two lead compounds (Pb Ma and Pb La), this exterior sample appeared to be contaminated by material from the decaying glass bottle. The second sample was removed from inside the residue. Although both oxygen and lead were present, the dominant components were aluminium (Al), silicon (Si), and potassium (K). Thus, results of the SEM scan suggested that organic components within the residue had been predominantly replaced by inorganic compounds leached from the surrounding alluvial silts. Margaret Donaldson and Sharon Adams, microbiologists at J. Boag & Son Brewery, also examined a stained, thin section of the residue. Using an optical microscope, they found dead yeast cells within the residue. Thus, although the residue primarily consisted of inorganics, the presence of inactive yeast cells suggested that this bottle did contain a fermented beverage at the time of its deposition behind the Solitary Cells. However, stratigraphic evidence indicates that this deposition occurred after closure of the Ross Female Factory.

Final Demolition

Layers of demolition materials were found exterior to the cell block, and inside all three excavated solitary cells. At approximately 10 centimetres below the surface, all three cells contained 30 to 45 centimetres of demolition rubble in a coarse sandy silt matrix (Figure 20). These contexts were identified as 3008 (West Cell), 3009 (Central Cell), and 3010 (East Cell). Brown in colour, the matrix was noticeably lighter than overlying topsoils. Loosely packed around the sandstone rubble, these contexts were intermixed with plaster and mortar deposits.

Highly decayed original roof timbers were recovered amongst the demolition rubble in all three cells (Figure 23). In the Central Cell, one of the timbers contained two cut 'brad' ferrous nails. Since these nails were neither bent nor excessively reworked, they did not appear to be in a recycled context. Samples of wood were analysed by Dr Jugo Ilic, a timber specialist at the Clayton Facility of CSIRO in Melbourne, Victoria. Dr Ilic identified the wood of the roof timbers to be *Eucalyptus obliqua*, commonly named 'Stringybark' or 'Brown-top' in Tasmania, and 'Messmate' in mainland Australia. This species is widespread and common throughout Tasmania (Williams & Potts 1996, pp. 82–4). A wet sclerophyll forest species, it occurs as a medium to tall tree. Linda Clark, Objects Conservator at the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery (Launceston, Tasmania), conducted a site visit on 10 February 1997 to discuss options for management of the highly fragile timber artefacts. She suggested the decay pattern of these timbers indicated they had been exposed to high temperatures and some possible fire damage. This preliminary analysis could provide further support for evidence of a fire within the Solitary Cells, as suggested



Figure 23. Area C: Structural roof timbers, context 3009 in Central Cell, north facing.

by context 3036, the hearth-like charcoal lens between two floors of the Central Cell. Further laboratory analysis will be conducted to confirm Clark's preliminary evaluation of the wood samples.

Above the primary demolition context, a smaller and more compact layer was recorded in all three cells. Contexts 3003, 3004 and 3006 consisted of smaller blocks of sandstone rubble held within a dark greyish brown alluvial silt. Context 3006 also formed the bottom of the topsoil root mass, and overlay demolition layer 3011 on the southern exterior of the Solitary Cells. On the northern exterior, two demolition layers were also recorded (**Figure 20**). Context 3012 was a brown silt matrix intermixed with large blocks of sandstone rubble. It was overlain by contexts 3002 and 3007, a layer of very dark greyish-brown silt with loosely packed sandstone rubble and pebbles.

Topsoil and 20th Century Use

Contexts 3000 and 3001 formed the topsoil of Area C. Identified as the surface grass and underlying root mass, context 3000 was not sieved. Context 3001 overlay all 16 square metres of the excavation trench. A dark greyish brown silt, this layer demonstrated an alkaline pH and a high frequency of organic materials.

Area D: The Sterile Pit

From 31 May to 2 June 1997, a 1 square metre trench was excavated on private property, 30 metres south of

the Ross Factory Historic Site (**Figure 7**). This trench revealed the natural stratigraphic profile of the Ross alluvial ridge system, enabling comparisons with the stratigraphy of heavily culturally impacted deposits within the Historic Site trenches. The location of Area D was chosen because it was outside the boundary of the Female Factory site, yet inside the same alluvial ridge at approximately the same topographic elevation as the Main Compound of the Ross Station. Heritage Consultant Anne McConnell provided geomorphological interpretation of the natural deposits.

At approximately 43–45 centimetres below surface level, context 4005 was a mottled sandy clay that appeared similar in colour and texture to the sterile basal layers of Area A (1025) and Area B (2015). Composed of an orange–brown coloured, neutral pH matrix, 4005 held frequent inclusions of black oxidized ferrous manganese nodules. This basal horizon consisted of a combination of weathered colluvial sandstone and alluvial silt sediments.

Overlying the basal clay horizon, context 4004 was a sandy silt lens, similar to contexts 1039 in Area A, and 2042 in Area B. A neutral sandy silt, this context shared a very gradual interface with the basal horizon (4005). It occurred 46 centimetres below surface level (4000). Context 4004 appeared to be a colluvial sandy wash from the local terraces. Since 4004 was only present in the higher north-eastern quad of Area D, this lens only seemed to appear in higher elevations.

Context 4003 was a fine clayey sand, orange-brown in colour, 23.5 centimetres below surface level. Black oxidized ferrous manganese inclusions began within this horizon. Oxidization of the naturally occurring iron compounds probably created the red-orange colour.

A series of dark channels were present through the gradual interface of context 4002 and 4003. These features were the geomorphological signature of either earthworm activity or organic materials grading down root channels. After interacting with the weathered colluvial sandstone of 4003, context 4002 assumed a dark reddish-brown mottled colour, and a slightly acidic pH. Located 13 centimetres below surface, context 4002 was an alluvial deposit related to seasonal flooding of the Macquarie River.

Representing the surface 'A-horizon', context 4001 was a dark brown sandy silt with very high organic inclusions. Representing the bottom of the surface root mass, context 4001 was located approximately 3 centimetres below the surface of Area D. Context 4000 constituted the grassy surface of this sterile trench. Manifesting a dark brown colour, the 4000 matrix was a loose alluvial silt. No Aboriginal or European artefacts were recovered from the excavation trench in Area D.

Chapter 5: The Ross Collection: Recording, Management and Laboratory Analysis

As part of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, three stages of laboratory processing were conducted on artefactual materials recovered during excavations. All artefactual materials underwent field management procedures during the excavation seasons. After being transported to the Hobart laboratory facilities of the Parks and Wildlife Service of Tasmania, artefacts from the Ross Collection were cleaned, identified and catalogued by fabric. Finally, I conducted specialized analysis and detailed identification of components of the Ross Collection relevant to the background questions of my dissertation research. This section will now outline the methods and procedures developed for each stage of artefact management and laboratory analysis. Although detailed discussions of the analysis and interpretation of assemblages from the Ross Collection can be found in my doctoral dissertation and publications (Casella 1999a, 2000a, 2000b, 2001b, 2001c), basic results of a functional analysis of convict-related assemblages will be briefly presented in this section.

Stage One: Field Management

During the 1995 and 1997 excavation seasons, field crews conducted primary cleaning, identification and stabilization of artefacts through an on-site Field Laboratory. Cultural materials and soil samples were identified by excavation area, trench number, and context number. For the vast majority of recovered artefacts, depositional circumstances suggested that a lot provenance was the most appropriate scale of spatial location information to be collected (Casella 1996a). As discussed above, documentary and material evidence of site formation processes indicated that the convict-related deposits were disturbed during post-Factory occupation periods. The major depositional contexts contained Factory-related underfloor deposits intermixed with structural materials related to post-Factory period demolition and recycling of convict buildings. The specific three-dimensional location of each artefact was therefore not immediately related to social use of the site by female convicts; that microscale spatial information had been obscured by later demolition activities. Thus, artefacts were spatially provenanced as a group, and linked to their stratigraphic context. Three-dimensional point provenance data was also taken for 'special finds', or those objects determined to be diagnostic, photogenic, valuable, particularly fragile, or otherwise unusual (Davies & Buckley 1987, p. 167; Dixon 1994, pp. 36–7; Austin 1993; Praetzelis & Praetzelis 1990).

During the excavations, Aboriginal lithic artefacts were categorized by excavation area, trench number, and context number. Mr Charlie Beasley, Tasmanian Aboriginal Heritage Officer for the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, inventoried these lithic artefacts

for identification purposes (Appendix 7). In January 1996 all Aboriginal artefacts recovered during the 1995 excavation season were repatriated to the Tasmanian Aboriginal Community, through the Aboriginal Heritage Unit of the Parks and Wildlife Service and the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council; the same repatriation process occurred in July 1997 to return Aboriginal artefacts recovered during the 1997 excavation season (Casella 1996b).

Stage Two: Identification and Cataloguing of Finds

The second stage of management involved laboratory processing of non-indigenous artefacts recovered from the Ross Factory site. Fourteen months of curation, identification, cataloguing and analysis were conducted on the Ross Factory artefact assemblages. Cultural materials previously organized by the field laboratory into 'artefact lots', or groups of materials recovered from the same excavation area, trench number and context number, were further separated into fabric types. To encourage future inter-site comparative studies of Tasmanian convict collections, identification and classification methods for the Ross materials were developed from the Fabric Key, produced in the early 1980s by the Port Arthur Conservation and Development Project (Davies & Buckley 1987, pp. 184–9). Artefacts were first categorized into one of four fabric types: ceramic, glass, metal or 'other'. Ceramics underwent two further layers of classification; separated by ceramic types, the earthenwares, stonewares, porcelain, and terracotta artefacts were then divided by function into domestic versus architectural and industrial ceramics. Glass artefacts were first classified as window, bottle or other, and then divided by specific glass colour. Metals separated into aluminium, copper-alloy, ferrous, led, silver, composite, or other. Nails were specifically identified within the collection because of their particular value as chronological indicators. The general category of 'other' contained all fabrics except ceramic, glass or metal. This designation included bone artefacts and ecofacts, cement, coal, concrete, leather, mortar and plaster, plastic, rubber, shell, seeds, stone, and wood (including charcoal).

After an artefact lot was separated into fabric categories, individual objects were catalogued within the assemblage. A unique catalogue number was issued to every individual specimen. This catalogue number consisted of four parts: Excavation Area, Trench Number, Context Number and Artefact Number. Thus, an object catalogued as 'A.2.1015.104' would be the 104th artefact from context 1015 in trench 2 of Area A, the Crime Class region of the site. Basic counts and weights were taken, and where possible, measurements and descriptive data was recorded to identify artefacts.

Ceramics were first divided into earthenware, stoneware, porcelain and terracotta. Following the Port Arthur fabric classification system, these manufacture types

were then divided into function types, either domestic, architectural/industrial, or tobacco pipes. Decoration method, colour and specific patterns were recorded for domestic ceramics. No maker's marks were found on the base of any ceramic vessel recovered from the Ross site. Ceramic body form was described as either hollow or flat, thereby separating plates and serving platters from bowls and jars. Counts and weights in grams were taken on all catalogue entries; minimum vessel counts were estimated and recorded for the ceramic collection.

For classification of the glass assemblage, the Port Arthur system was slightly modified. Since glass bottles formed a particularly significant artefact type within this research project, the Port Arthur classification system was altered to assist with analysis of these artefacts within the collection. Glass was first identified as window, bottle, or 'other', and then by the colour of the object. As date sensitive attributes, manufacture marks and seams were noted if present on any glass artefact. A rough description of the form of each object followed. For glass bottles, the type of finish was identified and recorded, if the neck and lip were present. As with the ceramic assemblage, counts, weights in grams were taken, and minimum vessel counts estimated.

Metals were first divided into chemical type. Nails were then separated from the ferrous and copper-alloy assemblages. These nails were divided by manufacture type into hand-wrought, machine-cut, or wire shafts. Heads and tips were examined to classify this group by nail type. Lengths were taken in millimetres for all intact nails. Since most metals from the Ross site had experienced a high degree of oxidation, the visual attributes required for object identification were frequently obscured by rust. Non-nail metals were grouped into roughly similar forms, and separately identified when possible. Weights in grams and fragment counts were recorded for all artefacts, and the minimum number of individuals were estimated for nails and copper-alloy sewing pins.

The general category of 'Other' consisted of stone and wood artefacts, and all ecofacts, such as shell, seeds and bone. Objects in this category were classified by basic fabric type and general form. Counts and weights in grams were recorded. Time and financial constraints prevented the faunal and floral assemblages from undergoing specialist analysis. Thus, while individual elements were individually catalogued, bone, seed and shell artefacts could not be identified by species. Future analysis of the faunal and floral assemblages could provide significant perspectives on both the colonial environmental landscape, and the nature of life within the female convict site.

The majority of cultural materials recovered from the Ross site related to post-convict occupation periods. For the purposes of this research project, artefacts recovered from Ross Factory related contexts were separated from

those materials related to Railroad, Police Station and Farmhouse uses of the site. Following completion of Ross Factory Archaeology Project, the Ross collection was donated to the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery of Launceston, Tasmania, for curation, display and permanent storage.

Stage Three: Detailed Analysis

Since my doctoral research juxtaposed material expressions of institutional domination and inmate resistance, my studies focused particularly on those artefacts that best represented the presence of forbidden activities within the prison. Two types of artefacts were defined as 'illicit objects': those materials that provided incriminating physical evidence of forbidden activities (such as coins, fragments of alcohol bottle glass, and tobacco pipe fragments), and those artefacts that, while innocuous in themselves, were recovered from inappropriate places within the penal institution. The female convict related assemblages subjected to further analysis specifically included: kaolin clay tobacco pipes, olive green bottle glass fragments, glass beads, coins, copper-alloy merchant tokens, copper-alloy pins and thimbles, buttons, and a ferrous musket flasks. Both the nature and spatial distribution of these 'illicit objects' were examined during the third stage of analysis. Results of this study formed the basis of Chapter 7 of my doctoral dissertation (Casella 1999a, 2000a, 2000b).

For the purposes of this report, archaeological contexts most directly linked to the Female Factory occupation period were subjected to further detailed analysis. A total of thirty-two depositional contexts were selected as most strongly relating to the Female Factory period. These depositional events contained material evidence most related to the physical layout and daily use of the Ross Factory from 1847 through 1855. As presented in stratigraphic detail within Chapter 4 of this report, the specific contexts selected were:

Area A Crime Class Dormitory underfloor: 1022, 1033, 1039, 1020, 1036, 1035
Dormitory underfloor/first demolition: 1008, 1015
Dormitory exterior: 1048, 1028, 1054

Area B Asst. Superintendent's Quarters east room: 2033, 2020
Quarters west room: 2034
Quarters chimney feature: 2035
Hiring Class Dormitory underfloor: 2023
Dormitory exterior: 2028, 2026

Area C Solitary Cells interior first floor (F1): 3028, 3040, 3037, 3024
Central cell interior burnt feature: 3036
Cells interior second floor (F2): 3017, 3035, 3018
West cell interior stash pit: 3022
Cells northern exterior: 3034, 3021, 3020
Cells southern exterior: 3025, 3014, 3013

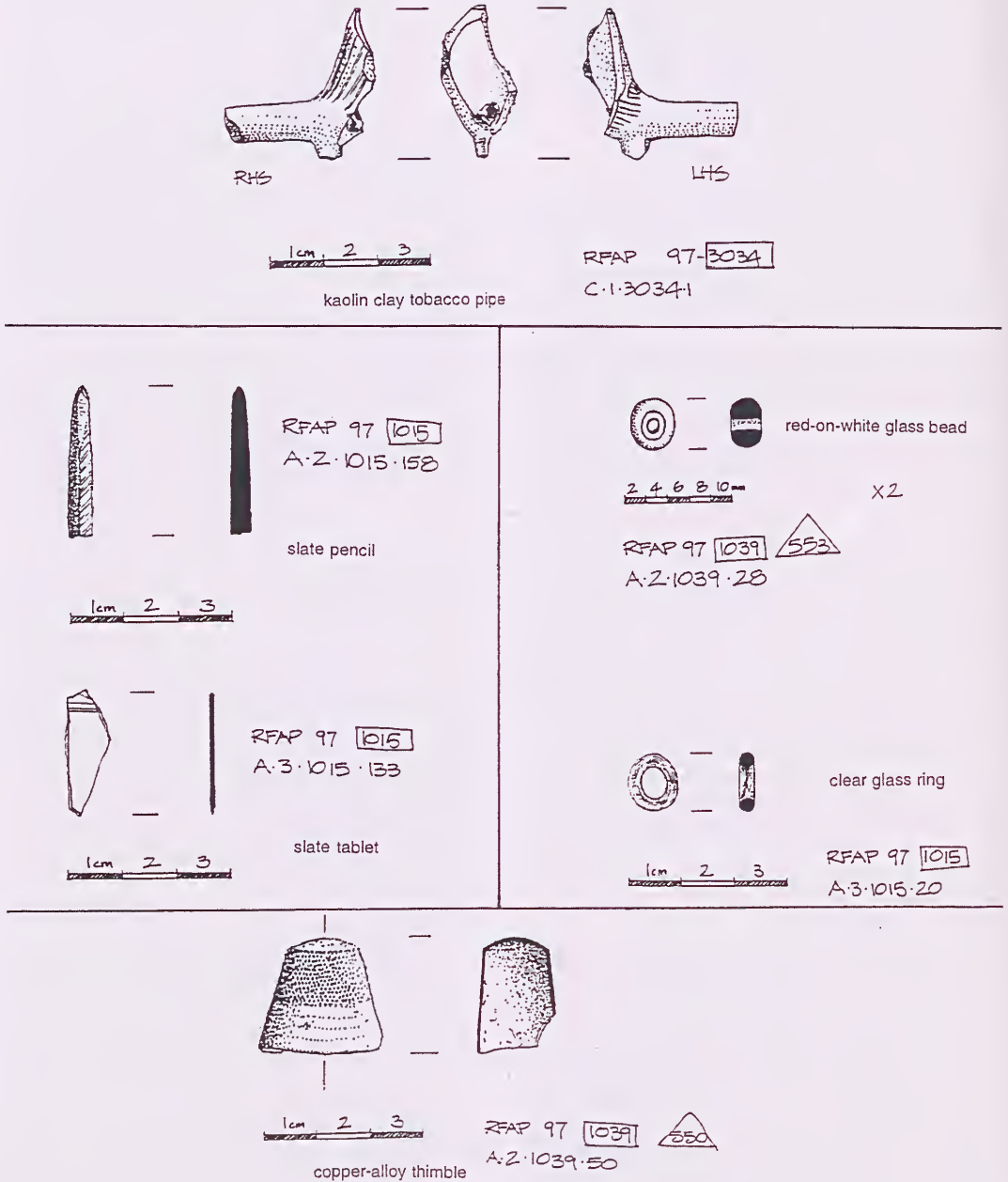


Figure 24. Ross Collection: specimen from various artefact assemblages.

A functional analysis of cultural materials from these deposits was conducted. The functional classification system used for this research was inspired by the work of Adrian and Mary Praetzellis at the Cultural Resources Facility of Sonoma State University. Adopting their system for Australian and institutional contexts, I generated a series of functional categories developed from their report on a 19th century urban site in Sacramento, California (Praetzellis 1990). This Chapter of the report will now present results from this final stage of analysis.

Results of Functional Analysis

This report was primarily intended to report on survey and excavations conducted during the Ross Factory Archaeology Project. Thus, this volume will only briefly characterize the nature of the Ross Collection by functional category. Detailed information on specific artefact assemblages can be found within my doctoral dissertation (Casella 1999a), available through the Tasmaniana Collection at the State Library of Tasmania, the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, and the Cultural Heritage Program of the Department of Primary Industries, Water and Environment, Tasmania. The Ross Collection is curated and managed by the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery in Launceston, Tasmania; access to the Collection can be arranged upon request.

Specific classification categories used for this functional analysis consisted of: Adornment, Clothing, Domestic, Ecofact, Fuel, Indulgence, Literacy, Monetary, Miscellaneous, Social Control, and Structural. All data discussed in the following summaries is presented in **Tables 1–4**. For some of the artefact assemblages, estimates of the minimum number of individual vessels (MNV) could be calculated. Where these estimates could be made, the MNV count appears in the table directly following the total weight in grams, separated by a semicolon.

Adornment

Three types of artefacts were classified under this category. Defined as objects relating to personal ornamentation, the materials found within Factory-related deposits consisted of one composite copper and glass necklace or earring pendant (Area B), seven glass beads (Area A), and two clear glass rings (Area A). Although this last artefact type was classified as adornment, there is some possibility these objects might also have served as part of a closure device for medicine bottles (M. Carney, pers. comm. 1998) (**Figure 24**). No adornment-related artefacts were recovered from Area C, the Solitary Cells.

Seven glass beads were recovered from deposits within the Crime Class Dormitory (**Table 1**). Using the standard archaeological classification system for glass

trade beads (Spector 1976; Karklins 1982; Sprague 1985) all seven artefacts were identified within the Canadian Kidd typology as ‘Type IVa’ (Kidd & Kidd 1970). This bead type consists of drawn, hot-tumbled, undecorated, polychrome glass beads. The variety recovered from Ross Factory Crime Class underfloor deposits were all transparent red over an opaque white interior (**Figure 24**). The shape of all seven beads roughly corresponded with the ‘doughnut’ shape category defined in Janet Spector’s 1976 classification article (Spector 1976, p. 25). Two sizes were recovered—one was 2.5 millimetres in diameter (weighing 0.02 g), and six varied from 4–5 millimetres in diameter (each weighing 0.11 g).

In a 1997 report on trade beads recovered from a 19th century Native American site in California, archaeologist Lester Ross observed that Kidd Type IVa constituted the second most common bead type recovered from archaeological sites in the western United States (Ross 1997, p. 185). The red on white variety was often termed ‘cornaline d’Aleppo’ or ‘Hudson’s Bay Company’ beads (Jenkins 1975; Mille 1975), and was especially common in sites dated from 1800 to 1860 (Ross 1997, p. 185).

To promote international studies of trade beads, Australian historical archaeology has predominantly utilized pre-existing Canadian bead classification systems (Iacono 1996, pp. 46–7; Birmingham 1992). Although these artefact reports have tended to identify beads under the functional category of ‘decorative element’, other functions have been suggested. Australian literature has reported on the use of glass beads in Catholic rosaries and decorative weights for sewing bobbins (Iacono 1996; Lydon 1993). However, all seven recovered from Area A were generic round red-on-white polychrome glass beads, of the type extensively used in frontier trade. Hence, in the context of the Ross Female Factory, it seems unlikely that these artefacts related to Jacemaking or performances of religious devotion.

Agricultural

Only one agriculturally-related object was recovered from Factory-related deposits. One ferrous horseshoe was found within Area A. Since this artefact came from mixed underfloor and demolition deposits (contexts 1015 and 1008) this object may have entered the site during demolition activities after closure of the Female Factory in 1855.

Clothing

This category included materials related to clothing use and production. Artefact types included within this category were: buttons of various fabric, a composite leather and copper shoe fragment, copper eyelets, copper pins, copper thimbles, copper fasteners, ferrous fasteners, and ferrous buckles. No clothing-related

materials were recovered from the Hiring Class Dormitory interior of Area B (Table 3). In contrast, the Crime Class Dormitory interior of Area A yielded both the highest concentration and greatest diversity of clothing-related artefacts, including seven buttons, eight copper eyelets, thirty-seven copper pins, and two copper thimbles (Table 1). A small ferrous buckle was also included within the clothing category, although it might have been a fastener on a leather horse harness. Artefacts specifically related to clothing production (sewing pins and thimbles) were also in greatest concentration within the Crime Class Dormitory (Figure 24). Materials related to clothing production generally appeared to concentrate within interior spaces of the Main Compound. The Crime Class Dormitory yielded the highest frequency of copper sewing pins (MNV=37), followed by the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (MNV=11). No clothing production related materials were recovered from the Solitary Cells of Area C (Table 4).

The highest concentration of buttons (MNV=36) were recovered from the exterior yards and Assistant Superintendent's Quarters of Area B (Tables 2 & 3). Fifteen of these buttons formed special find number 575, a cache of identical 4-hole sew-through bone buttons held between two large sandstone flags of the pathway immediately north of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (Figure 15). The Solitary Cells held the second greatest concentration of buttons, with twenty-two recovered from Area C. Nine buttons were recovered from Area A. A detailed analysis and interpretation of the Ross button assemblage is located within Chapter 7 of my doctoral dissertation, and related publications (Casella 1999a, 2000b, 2001c).

Domestic

The domestic category was used for artefacts related to food storage, preparation and consumption. Domestic items included tableware (ceramics and clear glass tumblers), bottles (clear, blue and brown glass, and stoneware), and ferrous containers. The greatest concentration of domestic artefacts was recovered from the Crime Class Dormitory interior, with 1016.91 grams representing a minimum of seventy-seven individual vessels (Table 1). Comparatively, the Hiring Class Dormitory of Area B yielded two vessels, weighing a total of 1.35 g (Table 3). The exteriors of these structures demonstrated contrasting results, with twenty-nine vessels (531.10 g) recovered from the Hiring Class sandstone pathway and drain system, and only five vessels (33.27 g) recovered from the exterior and drains of the Crime Class. In both regions, ceramic vessels dominated the domestic assemblages.

The Assistant Superintendent's Quarters held a total of 452.70 g of domestics, minimally representing sixty-three vessels (Table 2). The greatest diversity of domestic materials came from this structure. Stone

marbles were included in the domestic category because of their possible use in bottle closures. In terms of both weight and minimum vessel estimates, the eastern room held more domestic artefacts than the western room of the Assistant Superintendent's structure. Since this building was earthen-floored, these results might relate to the eastern room's function as a kitchen during the 1840s Road Gang period of site occupation, as presented in Chapter 3 of this report. The data would therefore pre-date Female Factory related uses of the structure. Further analysis of the domestic assemblage will be necessary to adequately date and source these materials.

Inside the Solitary Cells fifteen vessels were recovered, weighing a total of 486.81 g (Table 4). The two highest concentrations of domestic artefacts occurred in the first floor horizon and northern exterior of the cell block. Although a greater minimal vessel count of ceramics was present, one ferrous container dominated the assemblage by weight.

Ecofact

Although this category of cultural materials primarily consisted of bone, other finds included oyster shell, snail shell, egg shell, and peach seeds. Since the research questions of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project focused more immediately on other categories of cultural materials, and the funding available for post-excavation analysis was quite limited, the ecofact assemblage underwent minimal laboratory processing. During cataloguing of the Ross collection, only simple counts and weights (in grams) were recorded. Species identification and calculations of the minimum numbers of individuals (MNI) present were not undertaken.

A preliminary study of the ecofactual assemblage suggested that the greatest diversity of materials was present in the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters of Area B (Table 2). As discussed in previous chapters 3 and 4, this earthen-floored brick structure was occupied by male convicts during the 1830s and 1840s. Thus, the high diversity of ecofactual materials within this structure may represent pre-Factory uses of the building. Although further analysis of this assemblage must be completed, it is worth noting that the high diversity of ecofactual materials concentrated within the west room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters. According to a plan of Ross Station approximately dated to 1842, this western room served as the northern half of a 'Mess room for 200 men' during the Road Gang occupation period (Figure 2).

A comparative examination of bone weights recovered from the three excavation areas produced limited results. By weight, Area A yielded over five times more faunal material than the Hiring Class region of Area B. A total of 1029.81 g of bone was recovered from the interior and exterior regions of the Crime Class Dormitory, as opposed to 195.41 g from interior and exterior spaces of

the Hiring Class Dormitory (Tables 1 & 3). The largest amount of bone was present in the Solitary Cells, with 2611.36 g recovered, constituting 28% of the total materials recovered from Area C (Table 4). This faunal material concentrated in the first floor layer of the three excavated cells, with over 50% of the bone from Area C recovered from this stratigraphic horizon (Figure 10). Other areas of concentration included the southern exterior (11%) and the second floor layer (10%).

These preliminary results are significantly biased by both variations in the weight of different skeletal elements from the same species, and by differences in the weight of skeletal elements among different species. Further specialist studies of the faunal remains from the Ross collection are essential for future research on this site. Identification of species present, and MNI estimations would yield significant new perspectives on diet and foodways within the Ross Female Factory.

Fuel

The fuel category incorporated both flammable materials, and by-products of conflagration. Four types of materials were classified as fuel. Charcoal and coal were the most common types within the collection, found within all three excavation areas. Wood was recorded separately from charcoal to differentiate fire-related activities within the site. Some overlap existed between the Fuel and Structural functional categories, as both wood and charcoal could be classified under either heading.

Charcoal appeared in highest frequency on the interiors of the Solitary Cells, with 704.54 g recovered from Area C (Table 4). Concentrated in the second floor horizon, charcoal also constituted over 58% of the cultural materials recovered from context 3036. As presented in Chapter 4, this context was a hearth-like deposit of burnt materials located between the two floor horizons in the southern half of the Central Cell (Figures 10, 18 & 21). This evidence has been interpreted as representing an intentional act of arson by Factory inmates undergoing 'separate treatment' (Casella 1999b, 2001a).

The category of 'organic slag' consisted of wood modified by carbonization, with rapid combustion producing a puffed charcoal resembling slag (Schweingruber 1978, p. 204). This type of material was only recovered in Area A, from mixed underfloor and first demolition period deposits on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory (Table 1). When combined with the high frequency of charcoal, the presence of 552.8 g of organic slag within this depositional layer might indicate that the dormitory structure was partially damaged by fire following closure of the Factory in 1855. Coal was also recovered in greatest quantity from Area A, specifically from contexts on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory.

Indulgence

The Indulgence classification category was adopted directly from the functional analysis model developed by Adrian and Mary Praetzelis (1990). Consisting of kaolin clay tobacco pipes and olive glass alcohol bottles, this category represented the presence of activities forbidden to female convict inmates of the Ross Factory. Detailed analyses and interpretations of this functional category are available in recent published and unpublished sources (Casella 1999a, 2000a, 2000b, 2001c). Within this volume, some patterns in the distribution of this functional category will be briefly summarized.

Dating the kaolin clay pipes recovered from Factory-related deposits proved difficult as no artefact from this highly fragmented assemblage displayed identifiable makers marks. The most intact artefact from this assemblage was an unmarked bowl and stem fragment (Figure 24). Displaying a ribbed design on the bowl segment, this non-diagnostic pipe fragment was common throughout the 19th century (Ayto 1979). Tobacco pipes appeared to concentrate within the Solitary Cells, as both the highest minimum number of vessels (16) and greatest amount by weight (94.76 g) were recovered from Area C (Table 4). Area A contained a total of 24.57 g of tobacco pipe fragments, representing a minimum of eight pipes (Table 1). As no tobacco pipe fragments were recovered from the Hiring Class Dormitory of Area B, these results might indicate a differential use of illicit tobacco within the Crime Class region of the Ross Factory (Table 3). A minimum estimate of three pipes were recovered from the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters of Area B, weighing 7.12 g (Table 2).

The lowest frequency of olive glass alcohol bottles were recovered from Area B. A total of 754.48 grams were collected from this excavation area, representing a minimum of eleven bottles. The majority of this material was recovered from the drain system located on the exterior of the Hiring Class Dormitory, with 457.02 g (MNV=6) collected from this feature (Table 3). Only 294.19 g (MNV=3) of olive bottle glass was found within the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, representing the smallest amount recovered from the excavated Factory structures (Table 2).

In contrast, the majority of olive glass bottles recovered from Area A were collected from the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory. While a total of 1574.70 g (MNV=18) were recovered from Area A, approximately 1528.75 g (MNV=15) of this glass was found inside the Dormitory structure (Table 1).

Comparing the olive glass distribution between Areas A and C produced some noteworthy results. Although both areas contained a minimum of eighteen bottles, a greater weight of olive glass was recovered from the Crime Class region, with 1574.70 g recovered from Area A,

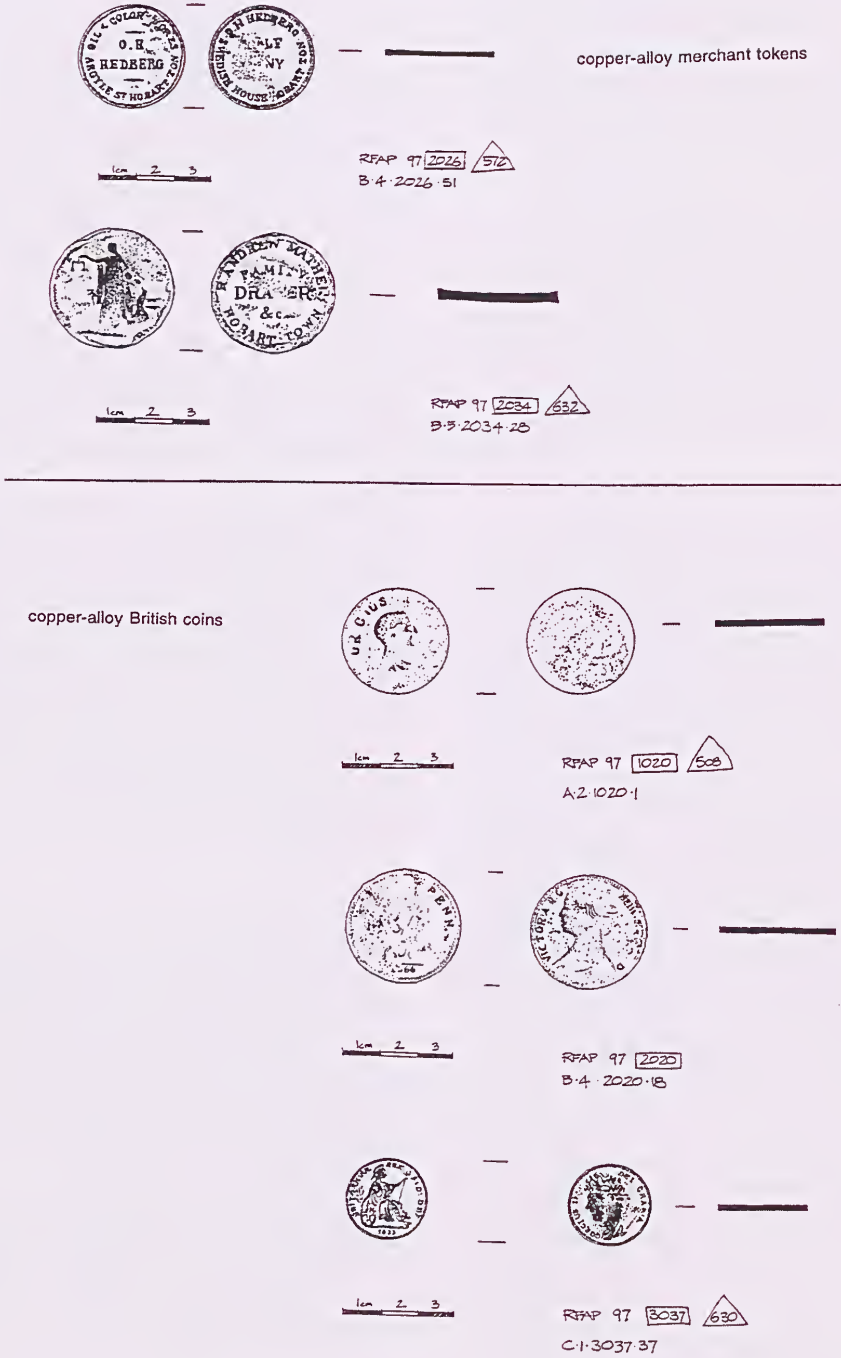


Figure 25. Ross Collection: coins and merchant tokens.

versus 1011.06 g recovered from Area C. When interior deposits of these structures are compared, the same differential patterning exists; 1528.75 g (MNV=15) of olive glass was collected from inside the Crime Class Dormitory, and only 312.0 g (MNV=10) of olive glass was found inside the Solitary Cells. However, while a greater minimum number and weight of olive glass bottles were recovered from Area A, three times more area had been excavated in this region than in Area C. Furthermore, olive glass constituted only 55% of the total glass assemblage from the Crime Class Dormitory underfloors, compared with over 77% of the total glass assemblage from the Solitary Cell interiors. Thus, olive glass bottles occurred much less frequently inside the Crime Class Dormitory than within the Solitary Cells.

These results could have been affected by such factors as occupation density, differential preservation of the record, and depositional processes. The greater presence of these artefacts within the earthen floors of the Solitary Cells might also have reflected the limited options for disposal of incriminating evidence. In her study of the glass assemblage from the Boott Mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, Kathleen Bond noted the significantly high quantity (by weight) of undiagnostic smashed glass artefacts in the courtyards that surrounded the workers' boarding houses (Bond 1989). She suggested that this occurrence might indicate a 'smash and scatter' strategy employed by the mill girls to safely disperse all incriminating evidence of their illegal alcohol consumption. The lower frequency of tobacco pipes and alcohol bottles within the Crime Class Dormitory underfloor deposits might have indicated a greater variety of options available to those inmates for disposal of their indulgences.

Literacy

The functional category of Literacy consisted of objects related to reading, writing, and numeracy. Within the Ross collection, two types of artefacts constituted this category: slate pencils and slate tablets (**Figure 24**). Both weights and estimates of minimum numbers present were taken for this category of artefacts.

Artefacts related to literacy concentrated in Area A, specifically on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory. Comprising a minimum of 10 pencils, 27.71 g of slate pencils were recovered from underfloor deposits within Area A (**Table 1**). Approximately 9.4 g of slate tablet were also collected from these stratigraphic contexts. Minimally representing two tablets, these fragments constituted the only presence of slate tablets within Factory-related deposits. Area B contained 9.64 g of slate pencil fragments, yielding a minimum estimate of five pencils (**Tables 2 & 3**). These artefacts were found in highest frequency in the east room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, although two pencils were recovered from deposits on the exterior of the Hiring Class Dormitory. No literacy-

related artefacts were recovered from Area C, perhaps reflecting the absence of this activity within the Solitary Cells (**Table 4**).

While embarked upon transport ships and incarcerated within the Female Factories, convict women were encouraged to develop their literacy skills through regular training in reading, writing and numeracy. Drawing upon fashionable philosophies of penal reform, the Convict Department considered the cultivation of literacy necessary for encouraging obedience and mental discipline (Jackman 2001), and for enhancing the convicts' value as skilled domestic workers. Female convicts in Australia tended to be more literate than their free working-class counterparts in either England or Ireland (Oxley 1996, p. 161). Since convict women assigned to the Crime Class were encouraged to attend literacy instruction within their dormitories each evening (Scripps & Clark 1991), the high concentration of literacy-related artefacts within the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory may reflect this activity.

Miscellaneous

One particularly ambiguous type of artefact was recovered within Factory-related deposits. During excavations, five quartz crystals were recovered from the earthen floors of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters and the drain system on the exterior of the Hiring Class Dormitory (**Tables 2 & 3**). Weighing a total of 105.67 g, these crystals were found only in deposits from Area B. The functional purpose of these artefacts remains unknown.

Monetary

The Monetary category accounted for two types of artefacts: legal tender, and merchant tokens from colonial businesses. While images and detailed interpretations of this category of artefacts are available in published and unpublished sources (Casella 1999a, 2001b), this report includes a brief description of objects recovered from Factory-related deposits.

Three British coins were recovered from excavation trenches at the Ross Female Factory (**Figure 25**). One copper-alloy penny was found within the eastern room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters of Area B (**Table 2**). Depicting a female bust, this coin was identified as a Victorian Era issue. On the reverse, the date 1866 could be discerned. The presence of a post-Factory period coin within the earthen floor of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters suggested this structure had probably experienced some occupation or use after closure of the Female Factory, as discussed in Chapter 4 of this volume. Therefore artefactual materials recovered from these earthen floors could not be directly associated with the Factory inhabitants, and did not necessarily reflect activities performed by either institutional staff or female inmates.

Context 1020, an underfloor deposit within the Crime Class Dormitory of Area A, contained a highly oxidized copper-alloy coin (**Table 1**). Inscribed with a laureate bust, and the word '... ORGIUS', no date could be read on the reverse of this coin (**Figure 25**). Comparative stylistic analysis of coins issued during the reign of George III identified this artefact as a British copper penny, part of the fourth issue from Matthew Boulton's Soho mint in Birmingham (Seaby 1961, p. 32; Cooper 1983, p. 21). This penny best matched the diameter measurement of those issued during 1806. It was recovered from a Crime Class Dormitory underfloor deposit stratigraphically linked to the female occupation period, as extensively presented in Chapter 4 of this report. Thus, its presence could reflect the illicit possession of legal tender by a female convict accommodated within the Crime Class Dormitory.

Within Area C, a copper-alloy 1823 George IV British farthing was recovered from the First Floor horizon of the central solitary cell (**Table 4**). This artefact was recovered in good condition, with only a slight degree of oxidization obscuring its surfaces (**Figure 24**). Stylistic analysis suggested this coin had been printed during the Soho mint of Birmingham's first issue for George IV, which ran from 1821 through 1826 (Seaby 1966, p. 212). The location of this coin suggested it had been deposited during female convict occupation of the site.

The colonial economy thrived on a second layer of material exchange. A general dearth of legal currency within Van Diemen's Land encouraged the development of economic networks of semi-legal barter throughout the colony (McNeice 1969, pp. 66–7). Although the majority of Van Diemen's Land tokens originated in Hobart, copper-alloy merchant tokens were issued by twenty different businesses located in six different towns around the island (McNeice 1969, p. 68). Van Diemen's Land tokens typically came in denominations of either one penny or one-half penny. They were widely circulated from the early 1850s through 1875, when all non-governmental currency was recalled by the British Monies Act of 1875 (McNeice 1969, p. 68). Two of these merchant tokens were recovered at the Ross Female Factory site, both located within the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters of Area B (**Figure 25**). As discussed above, the presence of an 1866 Victorian issue British coin within the earthen floor of the eastern room indicated a degree of post-convict era occupation of this structure. However, although the two merchant tokens could not be directly associated with inmates or staff of the Female Factory, they did suggest that some Factory or post-Factory inhabitants acknowledged, and likely participated in, the semi-legal economy of mid-19th century Van Diemen's Land.

The first token was recovered from context 2026, a deposit of dark brown silt that had accumulated within the underbarrel drain of Area B (**Table 3 & Figure 15**). Approximately 28 millimetres in diameter, this merchant

token had been issued by Olf H. Hedeberg, a grocer on Argyle Street in central Hobart Town. Named the 'Swedish House', Hedeberg's business catered to a particular ethnic minority amongst the free settlers. The second token was recovered from the earthen floor of the western room inside the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (**Table 2 & Figure 15**). This copper-alloy token had been issued by R. Andrew Mather, a leading draper and clothier of Hobart Town. The Mather token was 33 millimetres in diameter. It appeared to be thicker in cross-section, and stamped with less detail than the Hedeberg token. Although these differences might have reflected variations in the manufacture process, a similar Mather token recovered from Port Arthur, a male convict site on the Tasman Peninsula of Van Diemen's Land, did not show similar signs of substandard manufacture (McGowan 1985a, pp. 33, 116). Recovered from a post-1848 domestic deposit inside 'Lithend', a staff cottage within the Port Arthur penal compound, this Lithend Mather token was similar in size, thickness and clarity of design details to the Hedeberg token from the Ross Factory collection. Tasmanian numismatist Roger McNeice observed that the Mather token was frequently forged. Although these illegal copies were usually stamped in lead, other metal fabrics were also used. Thus, it is possible that the Mather token recovered from the Ross Factory Assistant Superintendent's Quarters was a forgery, although post-depositional impacts cannot be fully dismissed.

Social Control

The category of Social Control consisted of objects related to the physical enforcement of domination. Three types of such artefacts were found within Factory-related deposits. Ferrous chain links were recovered from all three excavation areas. The greatest concentration (524.20 g) of these artefacts was found within underfloor and demolition deposits on the interior of the Crime Class Dormitory (**Table 1**). This evidence could suggest that these chain links entered the site after closure of the Factory in 1855. Instead of relating to the exercise of social control, they might have served some structural or demolition-related function. Within Area C, 67.39 g of ferrous chain links were recovered from the First Floor horizon, and 40.40 g from the northern exterior of the cell block (**Table 4**). No ferrous chain links were recovered within the Hiring Class Dormitory, and only 37.13 g found within the eastern room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters (**Table 2**).

Two other objects related to social control were recovered from Area B. One ferrous padlock was recovered from the eastern room of the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters. Heavily oxidized, it was intact, heart-shaped, and weighed 156.67 g.

Finally, a ferrous gunpowder musket flask was recovered from silt deposits within the underbarrel of the sandstone drain system on the exterior of the Hiring

Class Dormitory of Area B (Table 3). Capped with a copper-alloy self-measuring release valve spout, this pear-shaped artefact was manufactured from 1750 through the late 19th century (Held & Jenkins 1959, p. 134). An image and detailed interpretation of this artefact are available within my doctoral dissertation (Casella 1999a). Heavy oxidization of the ferrous body of this artefact obscured any distinguishing military insignia or decorative marks that might have once identified the flask. This ferrous artefact was recovered from context 2026, a brown alkaline silt deposited within the base of the Area B drain underbarrel. It was located approximately 70 centimetres into the course of the box drain. As discussed in Chapter 4 of this report, context 2026 was an alluvial silt, and had accumulated through the normal functioning of the drain system in Area B. These drains were installed in 1841, during expansion of the penal site to provide accommodation for male Road Gang convicts. After closure of the Factory in 1854, the drains were no longer maintained regularly. Since seasonal floods of the Macquarie River frequently inundate the site, the drain underbarrel would have rapidly clogged with alluvial sediments. Thus, the musket flask probably related to the convict period of site occupation. Depositing this flask within the drain underbarrel would have required raising the heavy sandstone drain bowl. Thus, the musket flask appeared to be intentionally hidden deep within the drain underbarrel, a rather inconspicuous and inappropriate location for a container of gunpowder within a penal institution.

Structural

Structural materials consisted of artefacts related to the physical fabric of Factory buildings, architectural features, and furnishings. The functional category included: terracotta brick, mortar/plaster, ferrous nails, ferrous other (screws, bolts, nuts, wire, flat fragments, and unidentified fragments), copper other (wire, flat fragments, and unidentified fragments) lead, sandstone cobblestones, slate, timber (fragments of joists, beams or roof shingles), clear lamp glass, and clear window glass. By weight, the 'Structural' category formed a dominant component of the recovered artefactual assemblage in all three excavation areas. Although more research must be completed to comparatively analyze materials from this category, some preliminary trends can be discussed.

The greatest concentration of structural materials was recovered from mixed underfloor/demolition contexts within the Crime Class Dormitory of Area A, representing 73.3% of the total materials recovered from these contexts (Table 1). While this result was in itself unremarkable, the particularly high frequency of clear window glass present in this stratigraphic layer (500.73 g) corroborates with documentary evidence for the installation of paned windows in the convict dormitories just prior to the Female Factory occupation period, as presented in Chapter 3 of this volume. Within Area C, a

relatively high amount of clear window glass (219.84 g) was also recovered from the southern exterior of the Solitary Cells (Table 4). As discussed in Chapter 4, these apertures were most likely small rectangular windows placed just below ceiling level, installed to provide necessary air circulation, while limiting visual stimulation and preventing escape (Evans 1982).

Although a far greater amount of structural materials were recovered from the interior, versus exterior, of the Crime Class Dormitory, the opposite trend appeared in the Hiring Class region of Area B (Table 3). The exterior of the Crime Class Dormitory yielded 188.17 g of structural artefacts, while excavations of the exterior pathway and drain system of the Hiring Class produced 491.53 g of these materials, or approximately 2.6 times more structurally-related artefacts. This discrepancy could represent a combination of causes, including differences in the process of demolition employed on the two dormitories during later periods of site occupation, or increased robbing and recycling of structural materials from the Hiring Class Dormitory building. Further research is required to adequately evaluate these results.

Discussion

Inter-regional comparative results of the functional analysis present some interesting material patterns. Throughout the Ross collection, the Structural category was predominant by weight, constituting the greatest percentage of materials recovered from all four excavated Factory buildings. While this result obviously reflected the heavy weight of ferrous, brick and glass artefacts that comprised the majority of structural artefacts, patterns of recycling and reuse of building materials might be interpreted. The Hiring Class Dormitory contained the least amount of structural materials—775.2 g, or 33% of the total Dormitory building assemblage. Significantly, this Dormitory feature was located closest to the standing 'Ross Cottage' immediately west of Area B (Table 3 & Figure 7). Given that 'Ross Cottage' experienced two separate post-Factory periods of modification and reuse (see Chapter 3 of this report), the close proximity of the Hiring Class Dormitory to the occupied Cottage may have encouraged more rapid demolition, recycling and clearance of structural materials from the abandoned Dormitory. Such recycling activities might explain the relatively low presence of structural materials in the Hiring Class Dormitory assemblage. Conversely, the greatest weight of structural materials (15 112.34 g, or 72.4%) were recovered from the Crime Class Dormitory, located on the opposite eastern side of the Main Compound (Table 1 & Figure 7). Perhaps Area A experienced a different history of recycling activities, as archival sources presented in Chapter 3 indicated that permission was granted for rail workers to utilize the 'derelict' Crime Class Dormitory during construction of the Main Line Railway in 1873 (*JPP* 1873 No.25, p.18).

Structural materials yielded artefactual data on the physical nature of the prison buildings. To illuminate archaeological evidence for everyday use of the prison, the Structural category was subtracted from the various Area assemblages, and the relative weights of all remaining categories were inter-regionally compared. Three potentially significant patterns were observed. Firstly, within the Hiring Class and Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, the Domestic category dominated the remaining assemblage by weight (Tables 2 & 3). However, in both the Crime Class Dormitory and Solitary Cells, when materials from the Structural category were subtracted from the assemblage, the dominant functional categories were the Ecofact and Indulgence groups (Tables 1 & 4). As discussed earlier in this Chapter of the report, both of these functional categories may well represent illicit or insubordinate activities within the social context of the Ross Female Factory. While detailed taxonomic analysis was prevented by post-excavation funding limitations, preliminary processing of the Ecofact assemblage did indicate that bone ecofacts were recovered in particularly high concentration within the Solitary Cells assemblage of Area C (Table 4). This initial archaeological evidence would appear to support document-based accounts of food smuggling within the Factory inhabitants. A future systematic analysis of the Ecofact assemblage would certainly yield exciting evidence on the nature of food acquisition and distribution within the Ross Female Factory.

Secondly, the Literacy category was present in highest concentration within the Crime Class Dormitory of Area A (Table 1). While slate pencils and tablets were recovered from the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters and Hiring Class Dormitory of Area B (Tables 2 & 3), a much greater weight and minimum count of these Literacy-related artefacts were found inside the Crime Class Dormitory building. No artefacts from the Literacy category were recovered from the Solitary Cells. This material pattern may well indicate the location of numeracy and literacy classes that inmates were encouraged to attend after their required evening session of 'Religious Instruction' (AOT MM62/33/16841, Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 23).

The third most prevalent non-Structural functional group within the Ross Collection was the Social Control group. When the relative weights of this functional category were compared inter-regionally, a final topic emerged for consideration. The smallest amount of Social Control artefacts were recovered from the Solitary Cells. It could be argued that as the entire architectural purpose of the Solitary Cells was to materially enact disciplinary confinement, the iron chains were perhaps less necessary during 'separate treatment'. Conversely, the ferrous chain links might have been a structural element—perhaps as a component of furniture hardware, or as a means of suspending the lamps required for night time surveillance. If so, the ferrous links could be

recategorized within the Structural group, and their low concentration within the Solitary Cells would reflect the intentionally austere environment of this region of the Factory. The greatest weight of materials from the Social Control group were recovered from Area B. However, this weight represented only two particularly heavy objects: the ferrous padlock from the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters, and the ferrous powder flask from up inside the box drain on the exterior of the Hiring Class Dormitory.

This particular functional analysis of the Ross Collection provided a means for systematically characterizing the nature of the archaeological materials recovered through two seasons of excavation. Further, this method of analysis enabled artefacts from different Factory buildings to be compared across particular functional categories. Obviously other methods of analysis would be essential for gaining deeper understandings on the nature of the Ross Collection. Future work on the bone and ceramic assemblages would be especially useful for illuminating the dynamics of everyday life within the female factories of Van Diemen's Land. The next Chapter will offer some possible future directions for study, and summarize current conclusions drawn from the Ross Factory Archaeology Project.

Chapter 6: Future Directions

Part of an emerging interdisciplinary field of convict studies, this research project offered some new perspectives on the material world of the Australian convicts. However, as an archaeological study, it unearthed a variety of intriguing questions for further research. This volume now turns to explore some possibilities for the future development of research on the Ross Female Factory historic site, before concluding with a summary of interpretive results developed from the Ross Factory Archaeology Project.

Gender: Towards a Comparative Approach

A comparative approach is essential for further work on the gender dynamics that underlay both the management and institutional experiences of Australian convicts. We can only discern gender patterns through systematic comparative and contextual analysis of the other remaining male and female convict sites. It is only through comparison and contrast that archaeologists can distinguish wider patterns of gender differentiation from local idiosyncrasies in design or institutional management. Comparison of temporal and spatial variations is essential for extending a rigorously gendered analysis of convict sites.

Mapping the social geography of female convicts

Since the Ross Female Factory is the last Australian institutional site with archaeologically intact remains directly related to female convicts, future studies could expand our understanding of their colonial experiences by focusing on non-institutional components of these women's lives. As Australian historian Kay Daniels noted (1998a), the vast majority of convict women spent the greatest portion of their sentences in domestic service, living isolated as unfree workers in the houses of free colonial settlers. Many of the original land grant properties remain throughout the Midlands region of Tasmania. The monumental dwellings of the colonial gentry class frequently remain as part of this heritage district. Through surviving archival records, the domestic assignment and incarceration histories of individual convict women can be reconstructed. By choosing a sample from the 12,000 convict women of Van Diemen's Land, and tracing their 'life-cycles' through the institutional and domestic sites they inhabited, we could systematically record and interpret the variety of cultural landscapes and built environments they experienced. By mapping and comparing material dimensions of these overlapping landscapes, we could gain a richer historical and archaeological understanding of the biographical social geography and daily experiences of Tasmanian female convicts.

Comparative analysis of male convict sites

Recent work commissioned by the Cultural Heritage Branch (DPIWE) included an historical inventory (Evans 1996) and a preliminary archaeological survey (Parham & Noble 1994) of mid-19th century convict sites. These studies have located surviving remains of numerous male convict stations throughout the State. Building on the classifications of architectural layout suggested by David Parham and Brett Noble, further systematic examination of these male convict sites, particularly the built environment of their solitary punishment cells and inmate dormitories, would provide essential data for interpreting gendered patterns within the penal landscape of Van Diemen's Land.

Similarly, recent work on the Point Puer settlement at Port Arthur has begun to produce interesting new perspectives on the evolution of management schemes developed in Van Diemen's Land for juvenile male convicts. Similar to Parham and Noble, Greg Jackman interpreted the growth of this convict settlement as reflecting transformations of British philosophies of penal management, although Jackman argued for an explicit shift from penitentiary to reformatory styles of social control (Jackman 2001). Since Point Puer was established for accommodation of juvenile convict boys, comparative studies of changes in architectural design for both adult male and female convicts could provide a productive starting point for interpreting intersecting patterns of age and gender classification in convict management schemes.

A number of papers in the 2001 volume of the journal *Australasian Historical Archaeology* have offered exciting possibilities for comparative studies of male convict sites from the other Australian penal colonies. Both Martin Gibbs (2001) and Denis Gojak (2001) provide essential overviews of archaeological research on male convict sites and lifeways within the contemporary mainland colonies of, respectively, Western Australia and New South Wales. Clayton Frederickson's excavations at Fort Dundas, an isolated military station established on Melville Island in far northern Australia, revealed evidence of skilled craftsmanship and changing configurations of work relations among the male convict labourers assigned to the remote fortification (Frederickson 2001). These regional studies offer an exciting platform for future comparative analysis of gendered archaeological patterns within both the development of convict landscapes, and varying uses of material culture, throughout the Australian penal colonies.

Comparative analysis of gendered convict assemblages

Finally, the construction of gendered interpretations would greatly benefit from systematic analysis of artefactual assemblages recovered from male convict sites. Although twenty years of salvage excavations in

Tasmania have accumulated hundreds of thousands of artefacts associated with male convicts, archaeologists have only just begun basic identification, cataloguing and analysis of these collections. With the exception of a classic inventory of 19th century clay tobacco pipes completed for the male convict site of Port Arthur and published through the Australian National University (Dane & Morrison 1979), the few studies of Tasmanian convict-related artefact assemblages have appeared within locally published Cultural Resource Management reports or unpublished 'grey literature'. These reports provide only basic inventories, fabric descriptions, and approximate date of manufacture for recovered artefacts. The vast majority of male convict related material has never been identified or catalogued. To comparatively understand gendered patterns in the distribution of materials throughout male and female convict establishments, these male convict assemblages must first undergo primary processing. Archaeological analysis could then proceed to study the presence and distribution of materials throughout convict sites. By comparatively examining the frequency and distribution of glass alcohol bottles, kaolin clay tobacco pipes, legal coinage, colonial merchant tokens, gaming tokens, buttons, and other potential 'illicit objects' throughout male and female convict institutions, archaeologists could examine the presence of a black market barter economy in Van Diemen's Land, and question whether the underground trade archaeologically reflected any gender patterns.

Outside Tasmania, recent studies of male convict assemblages have provided new possibilities for the interpretation of gendered patterns in the production, use and deposition of material culture. Providing a background and supplement for a temporary exhibition at the Hyde Park Barracks Museum, Michael Bogle's volume *Convicts* (1999) interwove documentary and visual perspectives on the physical world of objects encountered by the Australian convicts. While not analytic in nature, this volume did include a brief material comparison of the nature of labour within male and female convict establishments (Bogle 1999, pp. 39–59). Fiona Starr's detailed analysis of the artefact assemblage recovered from a hospital privy pit on the convict settlement of Kingston, Norfolk Island, recently offered a more explicitly archaeological basis for research on male convict assemblages (Starr 2001). Her consideration of the nature of discipline, resistance and social control, as well as issues of health and perceptions of the convict 'body' provided significant possibilities for future comparative directions.

Power: Further Archaeological Studies of Domination and Resistance

The Ross Factory Archaeology Project was designed to examine the reciprocity of domination and resistance as communicated through both the built environment and the distribution of portable artefacts throughout the Ross

Factory site. Future archaeological research could reveal additional aspects of this social dynamic.

Reciprocity within the Solitary Cells

This study presented one possible interpretation of stratigraphic and architectural evidence recovered during excavation of the Solitary Cells. However, the Ross Factory Archaeology Project examined less than 17% of the cell block structure. Further excavation of the Solitary Cells would answer remaining questions on the architectural design and built environment of this unusual structure. Two specific components of the architectural interpretation presented in this volume could be evaluated by expanding excavations to the north and south of the cell block. Firstly, the structure and architectural function of context 3026, an ambiguous sandstone feature, could be studied. Consisting of roughly finished sandstone blocks abutting the southern exterior wall of the cell block (**Figure 18**) this feature may have functionally provided extra structural support by stabilizing the coarse rubble and mortar external wall of the Solitary Cells. Conversely, the sandstone feature could have functioned as an elaboration of architectural domination. It may have operated as an additional physical barrier on the secluded rear of this disciplinary structure. Responding to the thriving internal black market, the Factory Superintendent may have installed this sandstone 'paving' to prevent inmates from tunnelling through the earthen floors and roughly constructed rubble walls, thereby physically blocking one avenue for the covert passage of additional food rations and diverting indulgences to women undergoing separate treatment. These possible interpretations can only be evaluated through expansion of excavation trenches to the south of the cell block.

Secondly, opening further trenches to the north and south of the Solitary Cells would also provide comparative data for testing interpretations of the internal architecture of this structure. Interweaving stratigraphic and architectural data, I suggested these cells contained two layers of earthen floor, separated from the entrance level by a drop of at least 30 centimetres. However, if these cells had been originally floored with suspended wooden floorboards, a common building feature during the mid-19th century, it is possible that the stratigraphic contexts identified as the 'Second Floor' (**F2 in Figure 10**) actually represented the construction surface, and the artefacts recovered from this horizon had been deposited by the male convict labourers as they built the sandstone cell block. Following this alternative model, the stratigraphic contexts defined as the 'First Floor' (**F1 in Figure 10**) would pre-date the Solitary Cells. Artefacts recovered from that earlier horizon would represent the generic scatter of 19th century materials washing downhill from the Main Compound of the Ross Station during the 1830s and 1840s.

However, results generated by a functional analysis of the artefacts recovered from excavations might contradict this alternate architectural interpretation. In **Table 4**, results demonstrate that the First Floor (F1) contained 1 411.82 g of structural materials, while the Second Floor (F2) yielded only 671.92 grams. Thus, although structural materials accounted for a relatively greater component of the total artefact assemblage in the Second Floor (55% of F2 versus 41% of F1), the First Floor contained twice as much structurally-related artefacts by weight. With no building construction or demolition activities historically documented in this southern region of the site before erection of the Solitary Cells in 1851 (Scripps & Clark 1991), this high frequency of structural materials in the First Floor horizon could identify that feature as a combination construction/first occupation floor, rather than a generic scatter of cultural debris related to occupation of the Main Compound before 1851.

By extending excavation trenches to the immediate north and south of the cell block, we could evaluate the alternative archaeological interpretation of the data collected from Area C. To sustain my interpretation of two superpositioned floor features within the cells, the density of artefactual materials would need to concentrate on the interior of the cells, and diminish to the northern and southern exteriors. If no change in artefact density were present, the lower First Floor horizon would more likely represent the 'background noise' of secondary deposition, rather than an architectural floor feature. These new data would then enable a re-evaluation of physical evidence for the presence of cultural deposits and social activities within Area C.

Food as a black market commodity

Preliminary identification and inventories of ferrous, faunal and ceramic assemblages suggested a significant discrepancy between the physical evidence for food within convict dormitories and cells, and the official scale of food rations calculated by the colonial Convict Department (Scripps & Clark 1991, p. 20). As presented earlier in results of the functional analysis, ecofacts formed a dominant component of material assemblages from all three excavation areas, particularly in the Solitary Cells, where bone constituted 28% of the weight of the recovered artefacts. Furthermore, in their 1842 testimony to the Committee of Inquiry into Female Convict Prison Discipline, convict informers explained how their fellow inmates easily supplemented their officially issued rations through illegal trade in food (AOT CSO 22/50). A detailed study of faunal materials and ethnobotanical remains from the Ross collection would directly investigate this issue of illicit food exchange within the prison. A detailed analysis of the ferrous containers and ceramic assemblage recovered from the Crime Class Dormitory and Solitary Cells would also provide new data on the procurement and

distribution of food within the Factory. Ultimately, such research would provide further material insight into another means by which female convicts transgressed the disciplinary regulations and spatial barriers that structured their institutionalized lives.

Conclusions

The Ross Factory Archaeology Project consisted of two seasons of excavation and fourteen months of laboratory analysis on recovered artefactual materials. Although the project served as a platform for ongoing archaeological research, a variety of publications have offered analysis and interpretations for aspects of this rich Tasmanian site. By way of conclusion, results currently available from the Ross Factory Archaeology Project can be summarized into three thematic categories.

Overview

Five publications are currently available for overviews on the archaeological nature of the Factory site, the field methods employed during the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, and the laboratory methods used to process and analyze recovered artefactual materials. The first, published in *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, was intended as a preliminary introduction to the Ross Factory Archaeology Project for the regional journal (Casella 1997a). Written and released only months after the closure of the 1997 excavation season, this first publication offered a summary of historical background, field methods and preliminary stratigraphic analysis of the excavation trenches. It provided the basic framework for the second overview, an Internet-based multi-media presentation on the Ross Project published online through the Tasmanian Parks and Wildlife Service in 1999. This interactive website can be accessed at: <http://www.parks.tas.gov.au/inter.nsf/WebPages/CDAT-53CUF2?open>

A journal article in the 2001 volume of *Australasian Historical Archaeology* presented and discussed results of post-excavation laboratory work on artefactual materials recovered through the Ross Factory Archaeology Project (Casella 2001b). This article was included within a thematic edition of the journal which focused on studies of confinement in Australasian regional archaeology. As a result, the paper contained both an overview of the Ross Factory Archaeology Project, and summary data from the functional analysis of the Ross Collection, also available in section 5 of this volume.

Finally, an entry in the forthcoming *Encyclopedia of Historical Archaeology* (Casella 2002a) will provide an introductory overview for both the heritage of Australian female convicts, and the Ross Factory Archaeology Project. A second entry in this Routledge Press encyclopedia (Casella 2002b) will situate the Ross Project within an overview of archaeological research in Tasmania, Australia. All four of these publications offer summaries and interpretations of the archaeological data presented in earlier chapters of this volume.

On power and the built environment

My research on the nature of power has considered relationships between the built environment of this penal institution, and exertions of domination and resistance wrought by various groups of inhabitants. Both the topographic layout and the architectural design of this institution materially embodied philosophies of moral reform and social control that emerged within late eighteenth century Britain (Casella 2001a; Ignatieff 1978; Lefebvre 1991). Variations in the spatial designs of Tasmanian female factories reflected heated debates amongst the elite legislative class of Georgian era Britain on the most effective and efficient manner of exacting moral transformation (Evans 1982; Markus 1993; Casella 2001a). Furthermore, as Factory staff and inmates circulated throughout the prison, their daily motions ordered them through specific choreographed spaces (Casella 2001a, 2001c). Access to specific regions of the prison (staff quarters, dormitories, work rooms, gates, yards, cells) and to specific classifications of inhabitants (female inmates, turnkeys, overseers, night guards, administrative staff) were both strictly governed according to laws, regulations and institutional procedures issued by the Comptroller-General of Convicts, the colonial Lieutenant-Governor, and ultimately, the British Parliament. Thus, the cultural landscape of the Ross Female Factory inscribed hierarchical relations of domination and subordination upon the daily lives of all inhabitants.

However, ideal architectural places only represent *intended* power relations. Material culture offers a glimpse into *lived* places—and the possibility of artefactual residues of insubordination, collusion and disorder (Johnson 1996; Sweely 1999; Wall 1994). As all forms of domination can only exist in a partially realized state (Foucault 1977a, 1981; Bordieu 1977), the material world of this prison site simultaneously reflected acts of inmate resistance. Documentary, stratigraphic and artefactual evidence suggested that the architecture of discipline may have become appropriated for acts of social disobedience such as vandalism or arson (Casella 1996c, 1999b, 2001a). Furthermore, patterns in the recovery of ‘indulgences’—those artefacts considered illegal within the restricted penal environment—could suggest that an alternative landscape simultaneously existed. Constructed through the collusion of female convicts and Factory staff, this landscape of insubordination might have provided prison inhabitants with access to restricted spaces. The archaeological presence of olive glass alcohol bottles, kaolin clay tobacco pipes, non-uniform buttons, and British currency may therefore materially signify internal networks of covert barter. These ‘illicit objects’ would therefore reflect subversions of the boundaries, fence lines and architectural isolation of the Factory prison (Casella 1999b, 2000b, 2001c). Ultimately, the Ross Female Factory never existed as one static built environment. Through surviving documents and material

culture, we can map the simultaneous and overlapped landscapes of both institutional domination and inmate resistance, as both dynamics negotiated, conflicted and intertwined to create this penal site.

Gender, sexuality and socio-economic exchange

Archaeological interpretations of social identity require understandings of what, how and why objects come to have particular social meanings. When situated within the social context of the 19th century British colonial world, archaeological objects can be read as actively enmeshed within relationships of gender, class and sexuality (Karskens 1999; Scott 1994; Stoler 1995; Strobel 1991). The presence and distributional patterns of ‘indulgences’ were particularly fertile subjects to interpret how Factory inmates engaged with masculine and feminine identities. In particular, the consumption of alcohol and tobacco by female convicts was automatically associated with whoring, a symbolic correlation that both gendered and sexualized the leisure activities. Australian historian Deborah Oxley recently noted:

In colonial New South Wales the title “whore” was earned, not by selling sex, but by breaking rules . . . [19th century colonist] James Mudie chose his words carefully when he described the women convicts as “the lowest possible . . . they all smoke, drink and in fact, to speak in plain language, I consider them all prostitutes.” Convict women were damned because they did not behave like ladies nor sober workers . . . They got drunk, they smoked, they gazed back and they spoke in lewd ways their critics thought reserved for men. (Oxley 1997, p. 93)

Thus, while tobacco was issued to male convicts as a reward for exemplary behaviour, smoking was considered a masculine activity, and female convicts were strictly forbidden this indulgence (Walker 1980, p. 270; Ritchie 1971, p. 83). Within the convict economy of Van Diemen’s Land, tobacco thus constituted a potent currency of illicit exchange (Walker 1980, p. 270; Maxwell-Stewart 1997, p. 148; Gojak & Stuart 1999; Starr 2001).

Furthermore, within the penal colony, female sexual activity itself transformed into a mode of exchange, as it inextricably intertwined with dynamics of access, allocation and distribution of resources (Oxley 1996; Daniels 1993; Dixon 1976; Perrott 1983; Summers 1975). Given that men outnumbered women 10 to 1 in Van Diemen’s Land, attempts by colonial authorities to regulate convict sexual activity immediately commodified female sexuality as a quantifiable, scarce, and desired focus of acquisition (Byrne 1993, pp. 39, 50; Daniels 1984, 1993; Damousi 1997). Documentary accounts indicated that both heterosexual and homosexual encounters involving female convicts tended to correlate with the illicit exchange of money, alcohol,

tobacco, food, clothing, and transportation (Daniels 1993, 1998; Oxley 1996). Historical studies of workplace resistance exerted by female convicts similarly connected sexual trade to the existence of a black market economy within the Factories. Historian Kirsty Reid recently noted that:

... women sent to be punished at the House of Correction [Factory] for [absconding] fed their earnings from prostitution into the informal economy which flourished in such institutions—trading for privileges which substantially lessened the severity of their punishment. (Reid 1997, p. 114)

Thus, 'trafficking', or participation in the convict black market, assumed the nature of an illegal sexual economy, with 'trade' consisting of both material and sexual exchange. The presence and distribution of olive glass alcohol bottles and clay tobacco pipes within the Ross Factory could have resulted from local dynamics of this black market sexual economy, as the concentration of such 'indulgences' within the Solitary Cells of Area C may suggest the presence of a thriving network of covert sexual barter (Casella 2000a, 2000b).

The Ross Factory Archaeology Project added new material perspectives to current research debates on Australian female convicts. Using a combination of field and laboratory methods developed in archaeology, this research project recovered a sample of the cultural remains preserved within the Female Factory site on the edge of Ross, a rural town of the Northern Midlands, Tasmania. These architectural features, stratigraphic relationships, and artefacts provided physical evidence for both the institutional structures and the unwritten and covert aspects of Factory life.

Assemblage		underfloor	underfloor & demolition	exterior
Adornment	glass bead	0.53g; 6	0.11g; 1	
	glass ring	0.1g; 1	0.31g; 1	
	Total	0.63g (0.04%)	0.42g (<0.01%)	
Agricultural	ferrous horse shoe		421.52g; 1	
	Total		421.52g (2.2%)	
Clothing	buttons	3.17g; 1	7.52g; 6	5.07g; 2
	copper eyelets	0.56g; 2	2.25g; 6	
	copper pins	4.21g; 19	2.38g; 18	
	copper thimble	3.55g; 1	2.62g; 1	
	ferrous buckle		0.86g; 1	
	Total	11.49g (0.7%)	15.63g (0.08%)	5.07g (1.2%)
Domestic	ceramic	83.97g; 17	332.90g; 47	11.14; 2
	clear glass tumbler		191.9g; 1	
	clear bottle glass	52.27g; 5	348.37g; 6	21.63g; 2
	brown bottle glass			0.5g; 1
	ferrous container		7.5g; 1	
	Total	136.24g (8.5%)	880.67g (4.7%)	33.27g (8%)
Ecofact	bone	174.97g	762.23g	92.61g
	oyster shell	2.25g	8.3g	
	Total	177.22g (11.1%)	770.53g (4.0%)	92.61g (22.2%)
Fuel	charcoal	18.11g	310.54g	43.16g
	coal	40.36g	50.03g	
	organic slag		552.8g	
	wood	1.29g	6.54g	7.82g
	Total	59.76g (3.7%)	919.91g (4.9%)	50.98g (12.2%)
Indulgence	tobacco pipes	4.11g; 2	19.31g; 4	1.15g; 2
	olive bottle glass	80.90g; 4	1447.85g; 11	45.95g; 3
	Total	85.01g (5.3%)	1467.16g (7.8%)	47.10g (11.3%)
Literacy	slate pencil	7.25g; 3	20.46g; 7	
	slate tablet		9.43; 2	
	Total	7.25g; 3 (0.4%)	29.89g (0.2%)	
Monetary	coin	8.4g; 1		
	token			
	Total	8.4g (0.5%)		
Social Control	ferrous chain link	11.35g	524.20g	
	Total	11.35g (0.7%)	524.20g (2.8%)	
Structural	brick	96.79g	3878.56g	
	mortar/plaster	22.85g	167.44g	
	ferrous nail	351.87g	1112.11	115.70g
	ferrous other	570.83g	8026.72g	31.78g
	copper other		0.17g	0.39g
	lead		12.9g	25.92g
	sandstone cobble		51.7g	
	slate	3.20g		
	clear lamp glass		68.1g; 1	
	clear window glass	60.2g	500.73g	14.38g
	Total	1105.74g (69%)	13818.43g (73.3%)	188.17g (45.1%)
Total (g)		1603.09g (99.9%)	18,848.36g (100%)	417.20g (100%)

Table 1. Functional Analysis Summary Table: Crime Class Dormitory Deposits.

Assemblage		east room	west room	chimney
Adornment	composite pendant		1.07g; 1	
	Total		1.07g (0.08%)	
Clothing	buttons	12.22g; 15	3.93g; 4	0.34g; 1
	composite (shoe frag)	0.22g; 1		
	copper fastener	1.87g; 1		
	copper pins	0.92g; 5	0.69g; 4	0.25g; 2
	ferrous fastener	0.72g; 2		
	Total	15.95g (0.6%)	4.62g (0.4%)	0.59g (0.6%)
Domestic	ceramic	279.41g; 30	66.0g; 13	
	clear glass tumbler	13.78g; 1		
	clear bottle glass	19.78g; 5	3.43g; 2	
	green bottle glass	2.60g; 1		
	blue bottle glass	2.57g; 2	0.25g; 1	
	stoneware bottle	38.76g; 3		
	stone marble	10.35g; 2	15.77g; 3	
	Total	367.25g (14.6%)	85.45g (6.5%)	
Ecofact	bone	273.16g	91.69g	27.19g
	peach seed		2.39g	
	egg shell		0.37g	
	oyster shell	0.37g	0.15g	0.21g
	Total	273.53g (10.9%)	94.6g (7.1%)	27.4g (27.9%)
Fuel	charcoal	12.93g	2.8g	8.47g
	coal	3.48g		
	Total	16.41g (0.6%)	2.8g (0.2%)	8.47g (8.6%)
Indulgence	tobacco pipes	5.62g; 2	1.5g; 1	
	olive bottle glass	39.81g; 2	254.38g; 1	
	Total	45.43g (1.8%)	255.88g (19.4%)	
Literacy	slate pencil	6.42g; 3		
	Total	6.42g (0.3%)		
Miscellaneous	quartz crystal	77.83g; 2	1.03g; 1	22.59g; 1
	Total	77.83g (3.1%)	1.03g (0.08%)	22.59g (23%)
Monetary	coin	9.42g; 1		
	token		15.45g; 1	
	Total	9.42g (0.4%)	15.45g (1.2%)	
Social Control	ferrous chain link	37.13g		
	ferrous padlock	156.67g		
	Total	193.80g (7.7%)		
Structural	brick	193.23g		
	mortar/plaster	33.90g		
	ferrous nail	624.27g	187.32g	39.02g
	ferrous other	645.79	653.61g	
	clear window glass	11.66g	20.31g	
	Total	1508.85g (60%)	861.24g (65%)	39.02g (39.8%)
Total (g)		2514.89g (100%)	1322.14g (99.9%)	98.07g (99.9%)

Table 2. Functional Analysis Summary Table: Assistant Superintendent's Quarters Deposits.

Assemblage		interior	exterior path	exterior drain
Clothing	buttons		11.40g; 15*	0.36g; 1
	copper eyelets			
	copper pins		0.13g; 1	
	ferrous buckle			1.24g; 1
	Total		11.53g (15.4%)	1.6g (0.08%)
Domestic	ceramic	1.28g; 1	0.56g; 1	31.90g; 11
	clear glass tumbler			18.02g; 1
	clear bottle glass		4.91g; 2	168.65g; 8
	blue bottle glass	0.07g; 1		158.69g; 2
	stoneware bottle			148.37g; 4
	Total	1.35g (0.4%)	5.47g (7.3%)	525.63g (27.4%)
Ecofact	bone	57.42g	13.14g	124.85g
	Total	57.42g (16.3%)	13.14g (17.6%)	124.85g (6.5%)
Fuel	charcoal	6.08g	0.77g	31.63g
	coal	1.13g	0.64g	16.03g
	Total	7.21g (2.0%)	1.41g (1.9%)	47.66g (2.5%)
Indulgence	tobacco pipes			
	olive bottle glass	2.13g; 1	1.14g; 1	457.02g; 6
	Total	2.13g (0.6%)	1.14g (1.5%)	457.02g (23.8%)
Literacy	slate pencil		1.81g; 1	1.41g; 1
	slate tablet			
	Total		1.81g (2.4%)	1.41g (0.07%)
Miscellaneous	quartz crystal			4.22g; 1
	Total			4.22g (0.2%)
Monetary	coin			
	token			7.87g; 1
	Total			7.87g (0.4%)
Social Control	ferrous chain link			
	ferrous powder flask			297.77g
	Total			297.77g (15.5%)
Structural	brick	53.40g		54.05g
	mortar/plaster			
	ferrous nail	197.91g	35.79g	77.85g
	ferrous other	32.03g	2.12g	293.27g
	copper other			
	lead			17.14g
	slate			
	clear window glass	0.33g	2.25g	9.06g
	Total	283.67g (80.6%)	40.16g (53.8%)	451.37g (23.5%)
Total (g)		351.78g (99.9%)	74.66g (99.9%)	1919.40g (99.9%)

*special find 575, a cache of 4-hole bone buttons held between sandstone flags of context 2018.

Table 3. Functional Analysis Summary Table: Hiring Class Dormitory Deposits.

Assemblage	F1	burnt layer	F2	stash pit	northern ext.	southern ext.
Clothing						
buttons	12.32g; 9		17.69g; 7		5.55g; 4	0.95g; 2
ferrous buckle	12.32g (0.4%)		14.0g; 1			
Total			31.69g (2.3%)		5.55g (0.5%)	0.95g (0.04%)
Domestic						
ceramic	44.89g; 8				6.88g; 5	8.77g; 2
clear glass bottle	59.42g; 4				3.48g; 3	42.37g; 1
blue glass bottle	0.25g; 1		6.75g; 1			
ferrous container				375.50g; 1	2.15g; 1	28.22g; 1
Total	104.56g (3%)		6.75g (0.5%)	375.5g (43.5%)	12.51g (1.2%)	79.36g (3.1%)
Ecofact				26.49g	667.69g	292.9g
bone	1318.47g	40.47g	265.34g			
oyster shell	0.69g					
snail shell	0.09g					
Total	1319.25g (39%)	40.47g (24.9%)	265.34g (20%)	26.49g (3.1%)	667.69g (65%)	292.9g (11.4%)
Fuel						
charcoal	192.45g	95.30g	311.63g	6.19g	63.96g	35.01g
coal	0.44g					
wood	0.13g		6.56g		1.71g	1.04g
Total	193.02g (5.7%)	95.30g (58.5%)	318.19g (24%)	6.19g (0.7%)	65.67g (6.4%)	36.05g (1.4%)
Indulgence						
tobacco pipes	68.53g; 7	1.01g; 1	1.57g; 1	3.1g; 1	14.24g; 3	6.31g; 3
olive glass	221.14g; 6	2.77g; 1	27.24g; 2	60.92g; 1	90.27g; 3	608.72; 5
Total	289.69g (8.5%)	3.78g (2.3%)	28.81g (2.2%)	64.02g (7.4%)	104.51g (10.1%)	615.03g (24%)
Monetary						
coin	4.68g; 1					
Total	4.68g (0.1%)					
Social Control						
ferrous chain link	67.39g				40.40g	
Total	67.39g (2%)				40.40g (3.9%)	
Structural						
brick	805.05g	18.77g	604.01g		11.95g	839.21g
mortar/plaster			10.51g			1.51g
ferrous nail	318.82g	4.14g	23.37g	32.81g	46.97g	258.64g
ferrous other	259.05g		33.52g	358.10g	67.49g	77.91g
copper other	2.01g					
lead						83.55g
timber						54.77g
clear window glass	26.89g	0.30g	0.51g		6.89g	219.84g
Total	1411.82g (41%)	23.21g (14.3%)	671.92g (51%)	390.91g (45.3%)	133.3g (12.9%)	1535.43g (60%)
Total (g)	3402.73g (99.7%)	162.76g (100%)	1322.70g (100%)	863.11g (100%)	1029.63g (100%)	2559.72g (99.9%)

Table 4. Functional Analysis Summary Table: Solitary Cells Deposits.

Appendix 1. RFAP permit, National Parks & Wildlife Act 1970.

file: 50 22 88
permit no: 95-1

PERMIT TO REMOVE OBJECTS FROM RESERVED LAND
(Issued pursuant to the National Parks and Wildlife Act 1970)

Ms Eleanor Conlin Casella,
Dept of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, California 94720.
United States of America

is permitted to excavate at Ross Female Convict Station Historic Site and remove objects of archaeological interest.

This permit is subject to the following conditions:

1. This permit does not authorise the collecting or removing of any Aboriginal relics.
2. This permit must be held on site while excavating and produced on demand by an authorised officer.
3. This permit only authorises excavation in the areas agreed to between the Director and the permit-holder.
4. The excavation trenches and any other areas disturbed during the work are to be rehabilitated to the satisfaction of the Director within one week of the completion of the excavations.
5. A copy of all field notes and records is to be lodged with the Director on completion of the excavations and before the expiry of the permit.
6. Only those objects agreed between the Director and the permit-holder may be removed from Tasmania. Removal of objects from Tasmania will be contingent upon the permit-holder agreeing to return the objects and lodging a bond with the Director.
7. The objects must be returned to Tasmania on completion of the research and before expiry of the permit.
8. This permit authorises the possession and use of a metal detector.
9. A report giving details of the scientific work conducted must be sent to the Director before the expiry of the permit.
10. A copy of the final research report or thesis must be sent to the Director on completion of the research and before expiry of this permit.

NOTES:

The permit-holder should be aware of the provisions of the Aboriginal Relics Act 1975.

The permit-holder should be aware of the Commonwealth Government requirements for the export of movable cultural heritage items.

An interim report on the 1995/96 season's work will be required before the Director can agree on the 1996/97 excavation areas (see condition #3).

This permit is valid from 6 November 1995 to 30 June 1998

Issued by  for Director

Appendix 2. RFAP permit, Aboriginal Relics Act 1975.

Permit No. 96/ 2

ABORIGINAL RELICS ACT 1975

PERMIT TO INTERFERE WITH AND REMOVE ABORIGINAL ARTEFACTS

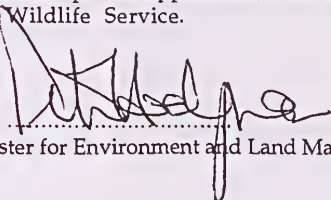
I, Peter Hodgman, being the Minister administering the *Aboriginal Relics Act 1975* acting on the advice of the Director of National Parks and Wildlife , do hereby grant to :

ELEANOR CASELLA , UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

a permit under Section 14 of the said Act to interfere with and remove Aboriginal artefacts located within historical levels of the Ross Female Factory site .

This permit is granted upon the following terms:

1. This permit has no effect if, to the knowledge of the holder, a relic to which it relates has been acquired or dealt with in contravention of the *Aboriginal Relics Act 1975*.
2. This permit will apply from 1 December 1996 to 1 December 1997.
3. That the said artefacts are situated within historical (nineteenth and twentieth century) layers of the site.
4. That the Director of the Parks and Wildlife Service and the Manager of the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council are notified of the discovery of any Aboriginal artefacts on the site within 2 working days of this discovery.
5. That an Aboriginal person is present at the time of the excavations.
6. That the permit holder will follow the advice and direction of the Parks and Wildlife Service and the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council in relation to the discontinuation of excavations where the investigation impacts on *in situ* Aboriginal relics and;
7. Any artefacts found are to be deposited, with the agreed documentation detailed in the permit application, with the Cultural Heritage Manager, Parks and Wildlife Service.


Minister for Environment and Land Management

28 NOV 1996
Date

Appendix 3. Area A context data summary.
(note: 1995 lot numbers italicized)

context number	location 1	location 2	type	description	soil color	soil pH	soil #	lot #
1000	A/1-4	surface	deposit	grass and root mass	n/a	n/a	n/a	1 & 84
1001	A/1-4	overlying site	deposit	A-horizon	10YR 3/2	6	1, 50 & 54	3, 99 & 1
1002	A/1	overlying site	deposit	A-horizon	10YR 3/2	6	n/a	2
1003	A/1	exterior Crime Class	deposit	sandstone & brick rubble (equals 1004)	10YR 3/3	6	n/a	5
1004	A/1, 2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	sandstone & brick rubble	10YR 3/2	6	7	73, 174 & 5
1005	A/1, 2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt	10YR 4/2	7	5 & 66	10, 153 & 13
1006	A/1, 2 & 3	interior Crime Class	deposit	silt	10YR 3/2	8	4	74, 85 & 3
1006A	A/1	interior Crime Class	deposit	silt (temporarily divided from 1006)	10YR 3/3	8.5	n/a	4
1007	A/1, 2 & 3	interior Crime Class	deposit	upper sandstone & brick rubble	5YR 4/2	6	8 & 56	81, 102 & 14
1008	A/1	interior Crime Class	deposit	sandstone & brick rubble (equals 1015)	10YR 5/2	9.5	n/a	11
1009	A/1	exterior Crime Class	structure	brick porch southern wall	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1010	A/1 & 2	Crime Class wall	structure	sandstone western wall of Crime Class Dorm	n/a	n/a	n/a	8
1011	A/1, 2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	structure	sandstone upper spoon drain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1012	no trench	Guard House	structure	sandstone wall, west room, southern face	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1012A	no trench	Guard House	structure	sandstone wall, east room, southern face	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1012B	no trench	Guard House	structure	sandstone fill of west room doorway (1012)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1012C	no trench	Guard House	structure	sandstone fill of east room doorway (1012A)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1013	A/1, 2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt & pebbles over courtyard	10YR 3/2	8.5	14	20, 198 & 6
1014	A/1, 2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt inside 1011, 1037, 1038 & 1060	10YR 3/2	8.5	13	19, 134, 137 & 12
1015	A/1, 2 & 3	interior Crime Class	deposit	lower sandstone & brick rubble	10YR 4/3	8.5	15 & 19 & 69	22, 116 & 17
1016	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt & pebble courtyard (not excavated)	10YR 4/2	8	n/a	9
1017	A/1	exterior Crime Class	deposit	mortar deposit in courtyard	n/a	n/a	n/a	7
1018	A/1	interior Crime Class	deposit	silt fill of 1032 in southern Crime Class Dorm	10YR 3/2	n/a	n/a	18
1019	A/1	exterior Crime Class	structure	sandstone supports for 1011	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1020	A/1, 2 & 3	interior Crime Class	deposit	mottled sandy-silt; underfloor deposit	10YR 4/4	7.5	n/a	209 & 19
1021	A/1	exterior Crime Class	deposit	mortar deposit in courtyard	n/a	n/a	n/a	20
1022	A/1	interior Crime Class	deposit	clayey sand, underfloor deposit (equals 1039)	10YR 7/4	9	n/a	15
1023	A/1	interior Crime Class	deposit	sandy silt dump of ferrous materials	5YR 3/4	9.5	n/a	16
1024	A/1	interior Crime Class	cut	cut into 1015, contains 1023	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1025	A/1-4	underlying site	deposit	mostly sterile yellow-orange clay	5YR 4/4	9.5	21 & 25	76
1026	A/1	Solitary Cells	structure	surface features of 3005 sandstone wall	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1027	A/1 & 2	interior Crime Class	structure	sandstone floorboard support wall, mid-Dorm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1028	A/1	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt inside drain underbarrel (equals 1054)	10YR 3/2	8.5	n/a	10
1029	A/1	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt & charcoal deposit south of 1011	10YR 3/2	8	n/a	16
1031	A/1	interior Crime Class	cut	cut into 1015	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1032	A/1	interior Crime Class	cut	robber trench into 1015, contains 1018	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1033	A/1	interior Crime Class	deposit	silty clay lense overlying 1022	10YR 3/3	8	n/a	21
1034	A/2	exterior Crime Class	deposit	brick scatter	10YR 3/3	8.5	n/a	18
1035	A/2	within Crime Class wall	deposit	silt underfloor deposit	10YR 4/2	7	12	21
1036	A/2	within Crime Class wall	deposit	silt interface	n/a	n/a	n/a	15
1037	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	structure	sandstone upper spoon drain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Appendix 3. Area A context data summary (continued).
(note: 1995 lot numbers italicized)

context number	location 1	location 2	type	description	soil color	soil pH	soil #	lot #
1038	A/2	exterior Crime Class	structure	modified sandstone upper spoon drain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1039	A/2 & 3	interior Crime Class	deposit	clayey sand; underfloor deposit (equals 1022)	10YR 5/2	8.5	59	103 & 124
1040	A/2	interior Crime Class	structure	sandstone floorboard supports, adjoining 1010	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1041	A/2	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt & rubble	10YR 6/2	6.5	46	80
1042	A/2	interior Crime Class	deposit	silt dump of building materials	2YR 2.5/1	6	36	62
1043	A/2	interior Crime Class	cut	cut into 1015; contains 1042	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1044	A/2	interior Crime Class	cut	robber cut of 1027	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1045	A/2	interior Crime Class	cut	wall trench for 1027	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1046	A/3	overlying site	deposit	silt dump	2.5 YR 2.5/1	6	48	128
1047	A/3	overlying site	cut	cut into 1007; contains 1046	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1048	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt & pebble courtyard	7.5YR 4/2	6.5	55	112 & 126
1049	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	structure	brick porch northern wall	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1050	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	sandy-silt; under porch	10YR 5/2	7	60	142 & 199
1051	A/4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	brick scatter	n/a	n/a	n/a	113
1052	A/4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt and pebble courtyard (not excavated)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1053	A/3	Crime Class wall	structure	sandstone eastern wall of Crime Class Dorm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1054	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt inside drain underbarrel 1035 (equals 1028)	10YR 4/2	10	78	202
1055	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	structure	sandstone & brick box drain underbarrel	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1056	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	deposit	silt between 1037 and 1055	n/a	n/a	n/a	167
1057	A/2	exterior Crime Class	structure	sandstone supports for 1037	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1058	A/2	within Crime Class wall	cut	robbing of door sill	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1059	A/2 & 4	exterior Crime Class	cut	drain trench	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1060	A/1	exterior Crime Class	structure	modified sandstone upper spoon drain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
1999	A/1-4	no location	n/a	surface & no context finds	n/a	n/a	n/a	115

Appendix 4. Area B context data summary.

context number	location 1	location 2	type	description	soil color	soil pH	soil #	lot #
2000	B/1-7	surface	deposit	grass & root mass	n/a	n/a	n/a	2, 14, 38, 210, 110
2001	B/1-5	overlying site	deposit	A-horizon	10YR 3/2	6	2, 16	4, 16, 40, 131
2002	B/1-4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	silt & root mass	10YR 3/2	6	3, 17	6, 23, 52, 93
2003	B/1-3	interior Hiring Class	deposit	sandstone & brick rubble	10YR 3/2	6.5	6, 20	7, 28
2004	B/1-4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	sandstone & brick rubble	10YR 4/2	6	9, 22	11, 24, 30, 67, 101, 119
2005	B/1-4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	silt	10YR 4/3	7	11	13, 36, 78, 118
2006	B/4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	silt fill of wall trench 2013 / 2021	n/a	n/a	n/a	147
2007	B/3 & 4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	sandstone rubble	10YR 3/2	6.5	40	71, 100
2008	B/3 & 4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	silt & root mass	10YR 3/3	6	35	51, 94, 125
2009	B/3	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	upper silt & pebble courtyard	n/a	n/a	n/a	65
2010	B/1,3 & 4	Hiring Class wall	structure	sandstone east wall of Hiring Class Dorm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2011	B/3 & 4	exterior Hiring Class	structure	sandstone upper spoon drain	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2012	B/3 & 4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	silt inside 2011	10YR 3/2	7	44	72
2013	B/3	interior Hiring Class	cut	wall trench for 2010	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2014	B/1-3	interior Hiring Class	deposit	silt fill of wall trench 2013 / 2021	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2015	B/1-7	underlying site	deposit	mostly sterile yellow-orange clay	2.5 Y 6/6	7	49	n/a
2016	B/4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	silt with sandstone & brick rubble	10YR 4/3	7	57	108
2017	B/4	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	structure	brick wall of west ASQ room	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2018	B/4	exterior Hiring Class	structure	pathway of sandstone flags	n/a	n/a	n/a	170
2019	B/4	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	structure	brick & sandstone wall of east ASQ room	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2020	B/4	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	silt floor of east ASQ room	10YR 5/3	9.5	63	121
2021	B/4	interior Hiring Class	cut	wall trench for 2010	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2022	B/4	interior Hiring Class	cut	trench for joist supports 2040	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2023	B/1-4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	mottled black/orange silty clay & rubble	10 YR 4/4	7.5	45	135, 149
2024	B/4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	silt within space of missing drain bowl	10 YR 4/3	9	70	144
2025	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	silt	10YR 3/3	6.5	71	193, 122
2026	B/4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	silt & sandstone rubble inside drain underbarrel 2032	n/a	n/a	n/a	146
2027	B/4	interior Hiring Class	deposit	white clay fill of wall trench 2013 / 2021	5 Y 7/2	7.5	72	114
2028	B/4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	lower silt & pebble courtyard	10YR 4/3	8	73	133
2029	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	brick & sandstone rubble	10 YR 3/3	8	75	208
2030	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	silt with brick & sandstone rubble	10YR 5/3	8.5	74	161
2031	B/3 & 4	exterior Hiring Class	deposit	fill of drain trenches 2046 / 2048 (not excavated)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2032	B/4	exterior Hiring Class	structure	sandstone & clay floor box drain underbarrel	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2033	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	sandy-silt floor of east ASQ room	10YR 4/2	9	82	207
2034	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	sandy-silt floor of west ASQ room	10YR 5/3	8.5	83	145
2035	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	structure	brick and sandstone chimney foundation, east ASQ room	7.5YR 4/4	10	84	172
2036	B/6 & 7	overlying site	structure	courtyard of sandstone flags	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2037	B/7	Hiring Class wall	structure	sandstone west wall of Hiring Class Dorm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2038	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	structure	brick wall between east & west ASQ rooms	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2039	B/6 & 7	overlying site	deposit	silt between 2036 & 2041	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2040	B/6	interior Hiring Class	structure	sandstone floorboard support wall, mid-Dorm	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Appendix 4. Area B context data summary (continued).

context number	location 1	location 2	type	description	soil color	soil pH	soil #	lot #
2041	B/6 & 7	interior Hiring Class	deposit	sandstone & brick rubble underlying 2039	n/a	n/a	n/a	206
2042	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	deposit	sandy-silt interface between 2033 & 2015, east ASQ room	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2043	B/7	interior Hiring Class	cut	wall trench for 2037	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2044	B/3	exterior Hiring Class	structure	western sandstone supports for 2011	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2045	B/7	interior Hiring Class	deposit	silt fill of wall trench 2043 (not excavated)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2046	B/3	exterior Hiring Class	cut	southern trench for 2011 / 2032	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2047	B/7	west exterior Hiring Class	deposit	silt & sandstone rubble	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2048	B/3	exterior Hiring Class	cut	western trench for 2011	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2049	B/1-3	interior Hiring Class	structure	sandstone floorboard supports, adjoining 2010	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2050	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	cut	trench into 2015 for construction of west ASQ room	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
2051	B/5	Asst. Sup.'s Quarters	cut	foundation trench for 2035	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Appendix 5. Area C context data summary.

context number	location 1	location 2	type	description	soil color	soil pH	soil #	lot #
3000	C/1	surface	deposit	grass & root mass	n/a	n/a	n/a	29
3001	C/1	overlying site	deposit	A-horizon	10YR 4/2	10	24	32
3002	C/1	north exterior	deposit	silt & sandstone rubble	10YR 3/2	7.5	28	43
3003	C/1	west cell	deposit	sandstone rubble	10YR 4/2	10	26	44
3004	C/1	central cell	deposit	sandstone rubble	10YR 4/2	8.5	27	66
3005	C/1	solitary cells wall	structure	sandstone wall of Solitary Cells (see 1026)	n/a	n/a	n/a	69
3006	C/1	overlying site	deposit	sandstone rubble	10YR 3/3	8.5	29	47
3007	C/1	north exterior	deposit	sandstone rubble	10YR 3/2	8	32	136
3008	C/1	west cell	deposit	loose sandstone rubble	10YR 4/3	9	30	60
3009	C/1	central cell	deposit	loose sandstone rubble & roof timbers	10YR 4/3	9	31	107
3010	C/1	east cell	deposit	loose sandstone rubble & roof timbers	10YR 3/2	8.5	33	192
3011	C/1	south exterior	deposit	loose sandstone rubble	10YR 3/2	8	34	63
3012	C/1	north exterior	deposit	silt & sandstone rubble	10YR 4/3	8.5	37	201
3013	C/1	south exterior	deposit	silt	10YR 3/4	8.5	42	134
3014	C/1	south exterior	deposit	silt & pebble pack	10YR 3/2	8.5	39	55
3015	C/1	west cell	deposit	clayey silt with plaster & sandstone rubble	n/a	n/a	41	70
3016	C/1	east cell	deposit	silt with plaster & sandstone rubble	10YR 3/4	8.5	38	164
3017	C/1	west cell	deposit	mottled orange silty clay; 2nd Floor	10YR 3/3	8.5	58	180
3018	C/1	east cell	deposit	mottled orange silty clay; 2nd Floor	10YR 3/3	8.5	43	140
3019	C/1	north exterior	cul	wall trench for 3029 & 3005	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3020	C/1	north exterior	deposit	sandstone rubble	10YR 4/3	10	62	91
3021	C/1	north exterior	deposit	mottled clay & sandstone rubble	n/a	n/a	n/a	195
3022	C/1	west cell	deposit	loose silt fill of 3023; cache deposit	10YR 3/4	8.5	n/a	156
3023	C/1	west cell	cul	pit dug into 3017; cache pit	n/a	n/a	n/a	152
3024	C/1	east cell	deposit	brown silt; 1st Floor	10YR 4/3	8.5	n/a	160
3025	C/1	south exterior	deposit	brown silt & mortar	10YR 4/3	8.5	n/a	162
3026	C/1	south exterior	structure	large flat sandstone paving	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3027	C/1	east cell	deposit	mostly sterile compact brown silt	10YR 3/3	10	61	109
3028	C/1	west cell	deposit	brown silt; 1st Floor	10YR 3/3	8.5	64	111
3029	C/1	north exterior	structure	sandstone extension of 3005; porch support	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3030	C/1	east cell	deposit	sandstone rubble fill of 3031	7.5YR 2.5/3	10	67	196
3031	C/1	east cell	cul	wall trench for 3005	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3032	C/1	east cell	structure	sandstone foundation of 3005	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3033	C/1	west cell	deposit	mostly sterile compact brown silt	10YR 2.5/3	8.5	68	178
3034	C/1	north exterior	deposit	mottled grey brown silty clay	10YR 2/2	8.5	81	169
3035	C/1	center cell	deposit	mottled orange silty clay; 2nd Floor	10YR 3/3	9	77	203
3036	C/1	center cell	deposit	black silt; charcoal deposit	10YR 2/2	8.5	76	166
3037	C/1	center cell	deposit	brown silt; 1st Floor	10YR 4/3	8.5	n/a	155
3038	C/1	center cell	deposit	mostly sterile compact brown silt	10YR 2/2	8.5	n/a	173
3040	C/1	west cell	deposit	brown silt; 1st Floor (see 3028)	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
3999	C/1	no location	n/a	no context finds	n/a	n/a	n/a	98

Appendix 6. Area D context data summary.

context number	location 1	type	description		soil color	soil pH
4000	D/1	deposit	surface; grass & root mass		n/a	n/a
4001	D/1	deposit	A-horizon		7.5YR 3/3	6.5
4002	D/1	deposit	reddish-brown loamy fine sand; interface: beginning of colluvial deposits		5YR 3/4	6
4003	D/1	deposit	orange-brown loamy fine clayey-sand; colluvial deposits		7.5YR 4/6	7
4004	D/1	deposit	brown loamy fine sand; iron manganese nodules; interface: beginning of alluvial deposits		7.5 YR 5/6	7
4005	D/1	deposit	mottled orange-brown sandy-clay; iron manganese nodules; alluvial sediments/floodplain		7.5YR 4/6	7

Appendix 7. RFAP Aboriginal Heritage Officer Report.

**Ross Factory Archaeological Project
1997**

A Report for the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council
and
Parks & Wildlife Service of Tasmania

Charlie Beasley
Aboriginal Heritage Officer

31 July 1997

Appendix 7. RFAP Aboriginal Heritage Officer Report.

Introduction

This report describes the results of excavated materials from the Ross Factory Archaeology Project (RFAP). The area excavated was on the site of a convict probation station. The Director of the dig was Eleanor Casella, an archaeologist from University of California at Berkeley.

My involvement as an Aboriginal Heritage Officer started with my training in 1992 as a trainee with the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council. Our Heritage Management Training Officer was Celmara Pocock. My work history with Aboriginal Heritage and Culture covers quite a wide range. I've worked as an Aboriginal Heritage Officer for the World Heritage Area / Parks & Wildlife Service (Tasmania) and Forestry Tasmania. With the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council, I have done surveys, camps, walks, talks, cross-cultural awareness programs, Aboriginal site rehabilitation, and rock art management. I have also done surveys of Aboriginal sites for the Department of Roads & Transport, the Hydro-Electric Commission, and Telecom Australia.

I was working on this excavation to gain experience in excavations and as a representative of the Aboriginal community. The excavation ran from 5 January 1997 until 3 March 1997. I attended from 21 January 1997 to 3 March 1997. Leigh Maynard from the Aboriginal Heritage Unit, Parks & Wildlife Service, was the Aboriginal Heritage Officer before I arrived.

My first time on this project was in 1995 whilst I was working for Forestry Tasmania as the Aboriginal Heritage Officer. In early January 1997, Eleanor Casella contacted me to let me know that the project was on again for the 1997 season.

The people that worked on this project consisted of about 22 (max) people from archaeology students to just people that had an interest in archaeology. This will be my final job as an Aboriginal Heritage Officer. I will be retiring due to ill health.

Methods

Ross is a small country town on the banks of the Macquarie River, in the Midlands of Tasmania. The area that the excavation took place on is now a paddock, and sheep are run on this paddock to keep the grass short.

This site at Ross was first used as a male convict probation station, and then used as a female convict Factory in the 1840's. The next era was the site was used for farming and the main building was used as a residence for some years. It now has been taken over by Parks and Wildlife Service as a historical site. So over the years the whole area has had disturbance from a wide range of things from grazing of sheep and cattle to machinery movement doing land clearing in the general area.

Appendix 7. RFAP Aboriginal Heritage Officer Report.

Representing the Tasmanian Aboriginal community, my involvement on this project was as an observer and Aboriginal heritage consultant, as well as being involved with daily operations necessary for archaeological excavation. I would circulate around the three areas, to see if any of the folk had any problems with the daily chores they would undertake. I was pleased that 95% of the students and volunteers would directly come to me with any possible Aboriginal artefacts that they unearthed. Over lunch break, I would talk with the students about what Aboriginal stone tools had been found over the day. We would look at all the materials they had collected that day, identify the Aboriginal stone tools, discard the ones they had misidentified, and talk about the characteristics necessary for Aboriginal stone tool identification. By going through this process, I was able to teach people to positively identify an Aboriginal stone tool.

During the course of the excavation, I kept a list of all Aboriginal stone tools found. My list consisted of the date, type of stone, condition, and greatest length measurement. It was easiest for me to keep a catalogue of all stone tools found, so that we know what tools come from where. No formal analysis was undertaken by anyone. I took measurements for the sole purpose of identification at the end of the project (see attached copy of list). I decided to keep all Aboriginal artefacts in a sealed box, separate from all other materials collected through the project. In July 1997, this box of Aboriginal artefacts will be handed to the Aboriginal Heritage Unit, Parks and Wildlife Service as temporary custodians for the Tasmanian Aboriginal Community.

Community Consultation

During the 1995 first season, with the amount of Aboriginal artefacts that were being excavated, I rang the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council (TALC), and the Aboriginal Heritage Unit (AHU) at Parks and Wildlife. I spoke to Dave Collett (TALC) and Rocky Sainty (AHU) about the density of Aboriginal artefacts within the dig, being a square 4m x 4m. After an onsite yarn with Rocky Sainty (AHU) I said that I would stop the excavation for more community consultation if the density of Aboriginal artefacts increased and started coming up closer together.

In 1996, Eleanor Casella got a permit under the *Aboriginal Relics Act of 1975*, in order to continue excavations at the Ross Female Factory site. All requirements of consultation were met. A few Aboriginal community members paid a visit to the excavation project, and numerous inquiries were made from the general Aboriginal community. Vernon Graham from the Aboriginal Heritage Unit (PWS) visited with Auntie Joan Brown, who was interested in what Aboriginal materials had been excavated from this site. In mid-February, Dave Collett and Colin J. Hughes from the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council did a full site tour.

Appendix 7. RFAP Aboriginal Heritage Officer Report.

Results

1995 Season

The total number of Aboriginal artefacts found during the excavation was 39 in total. The artefacts come from various levels of context from through out the site. The first artefact was found in context 1005 and the last found in context 1033.

When the first artefact was found in the clay (context 1033), I said to Eleanor that if more artefacts were found I would stop the dig for further community consultation. Within about 20-30cm from the first artefact another large piece was found. So Eleanor said what should she do? So I said that we would stop digging and Eleanor strongly supported this decision.

1997 Season

The total number of Aboriginal artefacts found during the excavation was 260. In Area A we found 85 Aboriginal artefacts. The places where we found the Aboriginal artefacts were highly disturbed area, due to Convict Period disturbance of this site. They appeared to have been built into the walls of the convict structures.

In Area B the total number was 138 Aboriginal artefacts. During the convict period, the floors were lined with river silt in the Assistant Superintendent's Quarters in Area B (context 2033). This area produced a large number of Aboriginal artefacts (64), that I thought were brought in with the river silt during construction of the floor in the 1840's. Most were broken or heavily weathered flakes, indicating very high levels of disturbance. I personally monitored all excavation of this particular area, due to the high number of Aboriginal artefacts that were coming up. At all times I felt totally comfortable allowing this area to be excavated.

Area C contained 26 Aboriginal artefacts. These flakes were mostly chert, and were mostly broken or highly weathered. Area C is inside the alluvial flood plain of the Macquarie River, and is only 400 meters away from the main river channel. It therefore experiences yearly floods. The Aboriginal artefacts did not have any deposition pattern, and could have washed in by flood action, or brought in as construction material (foundation fill) for the Convict Era building. One Aboriginal artefact was recovered from context 3016, broken in two refitting pieces with wall mortar attached to both pieces. Since this artefact supported the theory of Aboriginal artefacts being recycled in to the convict buildings during the 19th century, I gave permission to Eleanor Casella to photograph this artifact. Copies of these photographs can be provided if the Tasmanian Aboriginal Community would like them.

Conclusion

The excavation site has now been backfilled. In January 1996, the Aboriginal artefacts from the 1995/96 season were repatriated to the Tasmanian Aboriginal Land Council. In July 1997, the Aboriginal artefacts from the 1997 season were given to the Manager of the Aboriginal Heritage Unit, Parks & Wildlife Service, Department of Environment and Land

Appendix 7. RFAP Aboriginal Heritage Officer Report.

Management. The Ross Factory Archaeology Project excavation seasons well organized and well managed through out.

I feel that more projects of this nature should happen in Tasmania as the experience that can be gained from work like this will go along way in training future Aboriginal Heritage Officers, as you look at both Aboriginal and European history at the one time.

I would also like to thank Eleanor for this opportunity to participate in this project and for teaching me so much.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Charlie Beasley', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Charlie Beasley
Aboriginal Heritage Officer.
Hobart, Tasmania.

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